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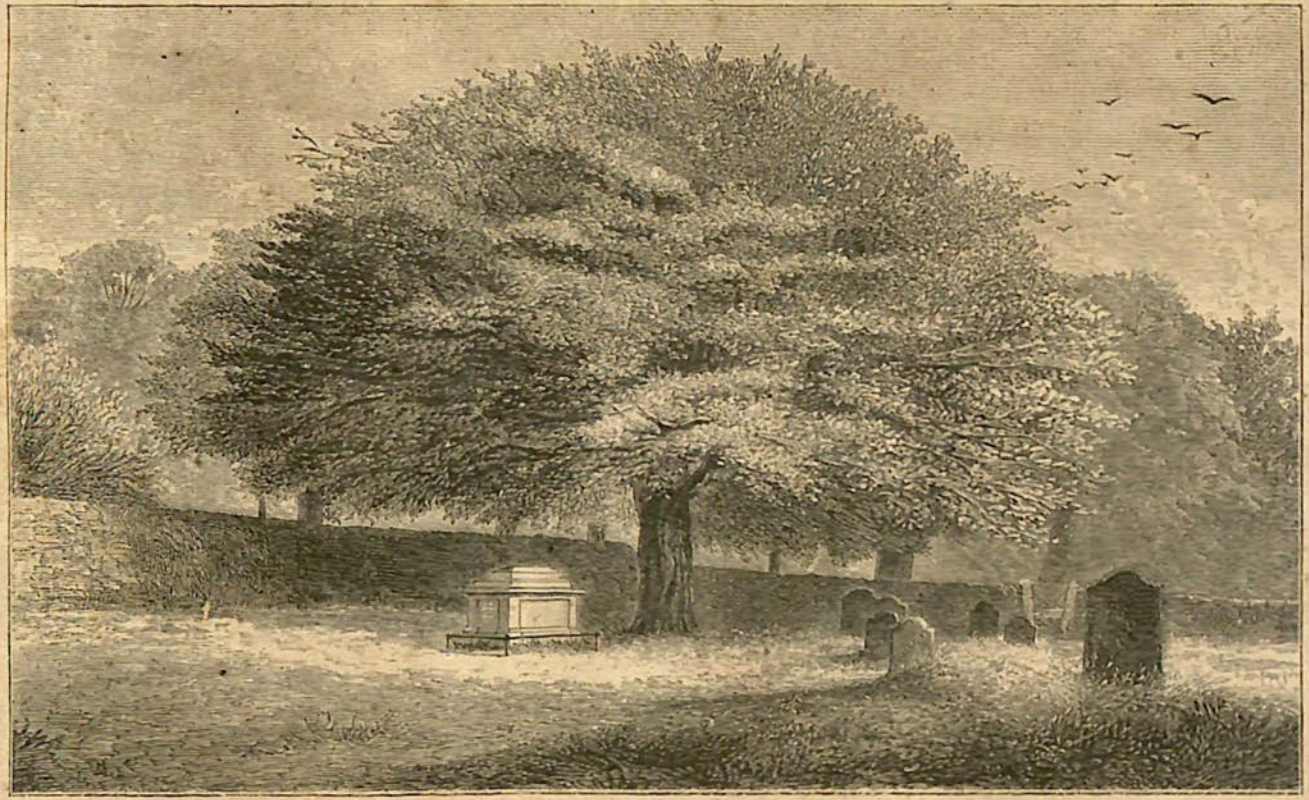

THE RAJA'S GRAVE IN SHEEPSTOR CHURCHYARD.

THE RAJA OF SARAWAK.

AN ACCOUNT OF SIR JAMES BROOKE, K.C.B., LL.D.,
GIVEN CHIEFLY THROUGH LETTERS
AND JOURNALS.

By GERTRUDE L. JACOB.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. II.

WITH PORTRAIT AND MAPS.

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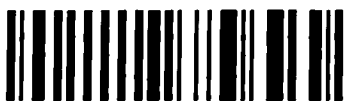
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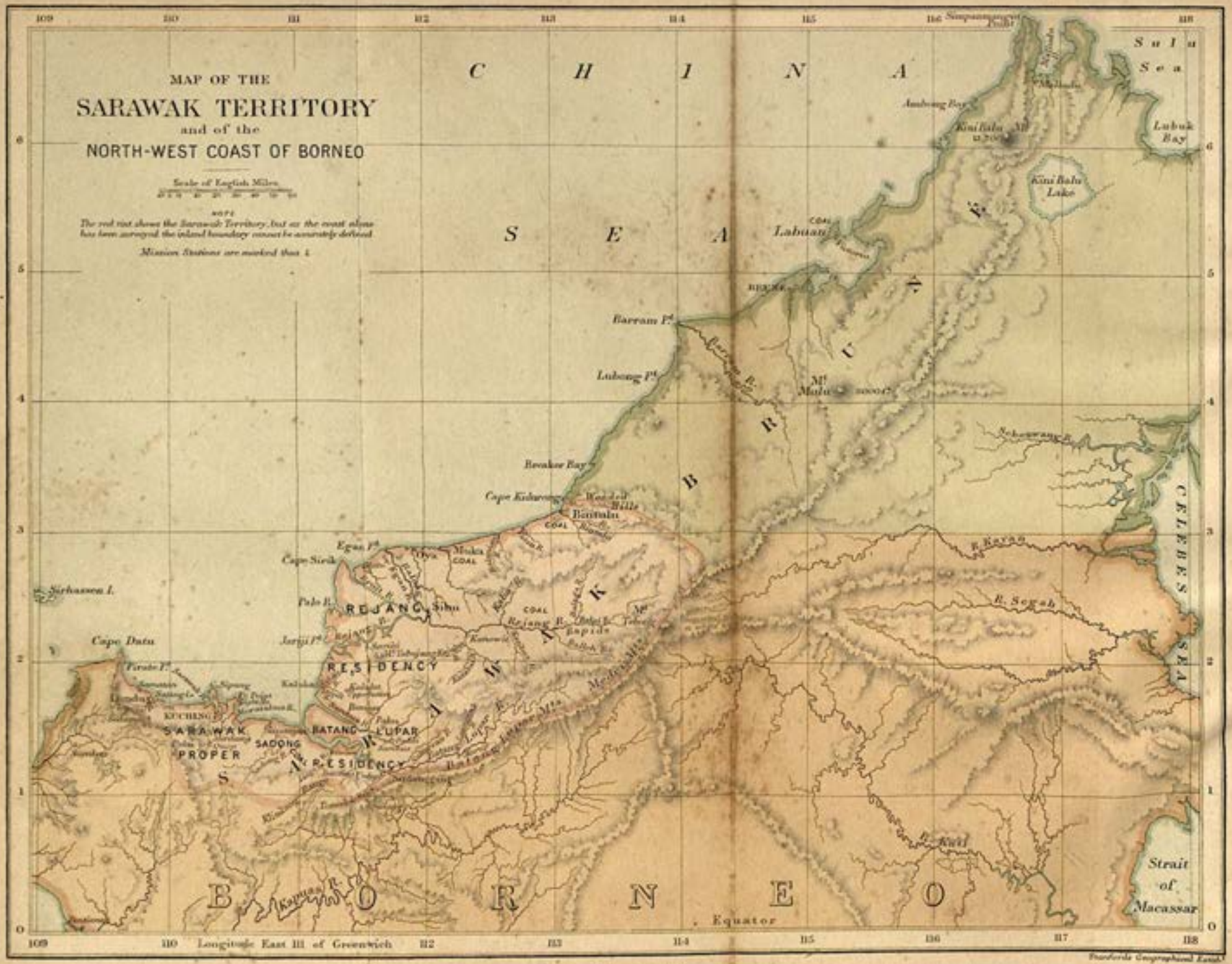

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THE RAJA OF SARÁWAK.

CHAPTER XIX.

1849, 1850.

THE fever contracted at Labuan was followed in most cases by ague, and the Raja suffered so severely from this that Mr. McDougall urged him to go for a change of air to Penang.

Through letters written early in December, 1849, before he left Saráwak in pursuance of this advice, we learn something of other troubles.

"This detestable fever has turned into ague, which none of us manage to throw off, and which recurs on the least exposure, fatigue, or bodily derangement. We have likewise been hard worked, never having been a month in one place during the last year, and I have suffered from much anxiety of mind, from what I cannot but consider as a petty opposition from high local authorities, and the mean calumnies of the press.

"You must not think, my dear Charley" (he is writing to his nephew, Charles Johnson), "that I *now* take these things much to heart. At first they told upon me; they appeared so infamous, so mean, so base, that they excited the scorn and indignation which every generous mind must feel; but this has passed, and I look forward with calmness to anything which may occur, and I have that firm self-reliance which can

only be derived from pure motives and upright actions. At the same time, I am not the least inclined to become a martyr, and I always mean to speak out and hit hard, when it is worth my while, and can be of use to the public service."

(To Mr. Templer.)—"I will not say anything of my future intentions, but you may rest assured that I will judge coolly and act decidedly; and, as Burke or somebody else says, 'it may so happen that a departure from the ordinary rules of prudence is sometimes the highest order of prudence.' It appears as if every cause of anxiety had been heaped upon me during the last year. Some are past, others passing, and I shall fight through my difficulties if I recover health. I hope the Government will give me an efficient support. I always have and shall always fear lukewarmness; and support we must have, or the sooner the Government undoes all that has been done the better. We do not want much, but what little we have must be properly dispensed, active, and certain. If it is not so, the Government is wasting its money and sacrificing me, for you will readily see, unless I am really supported I am clogged in my proceedings. I will not have a repetition of Sir Stamford Raffles' fruitless labours revived in my person."

From Labuan, which it was necessary for him to visit first, and where he found himself detained, he wrote (Jan. 8, 1850) to Mrs. Johnson—

"This great evil [piracy] appears to be drawing to a close; and all along I have been so resolute to crush it that I have risked life, given money, sacrificed health, and borne with malicious tongues, to effect a great object. I have all along known the extent of the mischief, and the utter folly of expecting to do by preaching what could be only done by force. You might as well preach the Emperor of Russia out of his ambition, or stop a predatory horde of Tartars with a tract, as turn these pirates from their love of plunder and blood (renown they call it) by gentle means. *Now* I can afford to be merciful without sacrificing the innocent to the guilty; and you, my sister, know that by nature I am neither

harsh nor cruel, nor likely to misuse the power I possess by over-severity. I am convinced that men, however strong their impressions of justice and mercy may be intuitively, rise in their notions and apprehensions of these qualities by practice on a large scale, and become less apt to confound them. I really hope I improve, and perceive more clearly what is due to my fellow-creatures, and that I have nerve and firmness to do now what I should have shrunk from a dozen years ago. I hope, too, that I improve in being more regardless of the consequences which may accrue to myself from acting rightly, and less inclined to follow my bent of adulterating justice by a mixture of spurious compassion. Justice should be tempered by mercy, but should never be warped by it. My time has been fully occupied since my return, by bringing up arrears of business which ought not to have been allowed to accumulate. For many days I was ten, and sometimes twelve, hours in office, and so weak and worn out as to be obliged to go to bed directly afterwards. The worst business I have had is a public inquiry on the conduct of the Lieutenant-Governor during my absence. Such an inquiry is painful at all times, and doubly painful when the object is an old friend."

We must turn now to the "malicious tongues" here alluded to, and trace the origin of an attack that, with an acrimony hardly credible, was from this time made on the Raja.

It has been already shown that his relations with Mr. Henry Wise were occasionally uneasy. Mr. Templer's distrust was early aroused, but the Raja, by nature unsuspicious, and feeling under obligations to Mr. Wise for exertions in his behalf, continued to bear with him, and heard unmoved that, while outwardly loud in his praise, he was stating privately that his opinion of him had entirely changed.

Something, however, that touched Brooke more nearly than personal abuse could ever do at length occurred.

The Saráwak antimony mines had been leased through Mr. Wise, in the face of his instructions, to parties with insufficient capital, and, in consequence, uninterrupted opera-

tions were impossible; added to which, ill-considered and contradictory orders perplexed and injured the native workers. While at Singapore, on his way to Saráwak in 1848, the Raja learned that instructions had been received at Kuching from Mr. Wise, in connection with this business, which he foresaw could but do harm to all parties concerned; he therefore took upon himself to suspend them, and wrote accordingly to Mr. Wise. In this letter, dated Singapore, August 26, 1848, he points out the mischief that had already fallen on the native traders, and which, if the instructions in question were carried out, would again ensue, even to the ruin of some. "Will their distress," he asks, "be alleviated by the consideration that it was my influence which induced them to renew an employment subject to sudden and capricious changes? No. They will consider it as amounting to a breach of faith, and I must explain to them, that if I have been the innocent cause of their misfortune once, I will never be so again."

Taking this matter in connection with the apparent impossibility of coming to any understanding with Mr. Wise as to the principle of his management, or of obtaining any clear insight into pecuniary affairs that appeared to grow more complex the more earnestly simplicity was desired, he tells his agent that he feels "as much in the dark as ever," and then says—

"I now propose to arrive at a clear and final understanding of my position. I must go over the matter again, and allow Mr. Cameron * to judge for me what is best to be done; for I have no leisure to attend to the details, and my ignorance of technicalities and forms precludes my arriving at a proper conclusion on the subject. You will oblige me, therefore, by furnishing Mr. Cameron with every particular respecting my affairs, and showing the agreement or lease granted by me to Mr. Melville and Mr. Street. I have already told Mr. Cameron all that I know of the matter, and have made him acquainted with my views and wishes.

* The Raja's legal adviser, J. C. Cameron, Esq., of the firm of Cameron and Booty, Raymond Buildings, Gray's Inn.

"I wish a final settlement of my accounts; I wish to know who are responsible for the balance you allow to be due; I wish to know who are the lessees, and what is the proper and legal interpretation of the lease they hold under me for the next three years.

"You will be pleased personally to explain these matters to Mr. Cameron, as, besides saving you a good deal of trouble, you will then have a gentleman to deal with well acquainted with business, and in whom I have the greatest confidence. I trust everything may be explained, and my mind relieved from the doubts which have lately oppressed it, in consequence of the, to me, apparently intricate nature of the accounts. . . . I have little more to say. I trust that you will fully explain to Mr. Cameron the entire subject I have written on, and that the explanation may be satisfactory and conclusive; nothing will give me greater pleasure. Your expressions have caused some distrust, easily to be removed, and I shall await with patience, and a mind ready to judge with candour. I am aware of the value of your services. I sincerely wish to retain the same high opinion of you I have ever held, and to be convinced that my pecuniary interests have not suffered in your keeping. I have been long aware of your inimical feeling towards myself, and of your suspicion that I am seeking an occasion to discard you; but it is not so. Your opinion cannot influence my conduct; it cannot make me forgetful of what is due to you for your services; and, after a satisfactory explanation, I shall be happy to see you attain the object of your ambition. I repeat again, I wish to act with justice and with candour.—Believe me, etc."

The object of Mr. Wise's ambition was the success of the Eastern Archipelago Company, of which he was the managing director. The Raja's refusal to join this company had long been a sore point with his agent. In the early days of the connection Sir James had, as we have seen, been willing to go into a kind of partnership, but in proportion as the bait grew tempting he shrunk from it, and it was not from want of outspokenness that Mr. Wise continued to hope against hope.

When entering somewhat later into this matter with Mr. Henry Drummond, M.P. for West Surrey, the Raja says—

"On the 1st March, 1846, after alluding to the proposed company by means of which I was to become 'one of the wealthiest commoners in England,' I wrote as follows—

"'You may rightly reap an advantage from this or any other enterprise of a similar nature, but so essentially different is the position in which I am placed that I could not do so without the loss of reputation, not only in the opinion of the world, but likewise in my own estimation. I am pledged to the good government of Saráwak, and I am bound not to risk the welfare of this people for any motive, whether of cupidity or of ambition. I repeat again, I can in no wise participate in profits which may arise out of the formation of a company, or any other project which may be started in England, for it is incumbent on me to remain independent.'

"The truth is" (he continues to Mr. Drummond) "that previously to these projects being started, and the offer made of realizing vast wealth, '*a princely fortune*,' by my participation in them, I had never seriously considered the duty which I had to perform towards Saráwak, and, I may add, towards England. Circumstances altered with a rapidity unknown under established Governments. To afford protection to Saráwak, and to save myself from the ruin which threatened, I would, in 1842 or 1843, have made over the Government, which had cost me thousands, to a company for a few shares in the scheme; but in 1846 I would not have done so, for the people were happy, difficulties and dangers had been surmounted, and there was an approach to the permanency which I desired in the state of things. The difficulties of my position, with the change of circumstances, should be borne in mind when a judgment is formed of any particular event, as separated from the general course of my career."

Several letters to Mr. Wise are to be found in the Blue-book "Borneo." They refer chiefly to business matters, but here and there come sentences so characteristic as to be worth preserving. In a long communication from the Raja, dated Saráwak, February 10, 1846, we read—

"In your letter of November you express yourself pleased at receiving my assurance of the high confidence I repose in you, and I could repeat the same sentiments on the present occasion did it not appear to me that you have overlooked that confidence in any person is quite compatible with a difference of opinions and views. I have great confidence in you to carry out my views, or views which have been fully discussed, and to which I have acceded; but I have no confidence in any living being who originates measures for which I am alone responsible, and who carries them into execution without reference to me. . . . If you will act against a man's nature instead of with it, you must expect to fail in your projects!

"I urge you, in conclusion, to make the arrangements I have decided on, reserving any advantage you intended for me for yourself. You may trust to my friendly feeling, and my sincere desire to serve you as far as I can; but I urge you again and again not to commit the mistake of shutting your eyes to my habits and temper. Make use of agents here who know the natives; trust to gradual advancement and prosperity; and, above all, I pray you not to decide on any serious matter without my concurrence.

"No man relinquishes the golden dreams you have held up to my eyes without a sigh; no man would relinquish them excepting from a sense that he was doing right."

The letter from Singapore of August 26, 1848, received by Mr. Wise in the October following, was answered by a refusal on his part to make, or to attempt to make, any explanation whatever. As a natural consequence his agency ceased, and from this time he became the open enemy of one whom, for two years previously, he had abused in private while lauding him, as before, in public. The private abuse dated from 1846, in which year, by a great inadvertence, some letters from the Raja to Mr. Templer fell into his hands. Long letters, not always very legibly written, and on thin paper, take time and patience to decipher, and these were made over by a third party, to whom they had been lent for the verification of some

names and dates, to Mr. Wise, in ignorance or forgetfulness that they contained passages not intended for his eyes. On this becoming known to Mr. Templer, he desired Mr. Wise to return them at once to him, whereon he made answer that, finding himself mentioned unfavourably, he should retain them. Mr. Templer, moved by his own distrust of the man, had endeavoured to sever his connection with the Raja: the letters in question commented on the arguments employed, and allowed certain causes for discontent, while not agreeing that there were sufficient for a rupture.

Only under threat of immediate legal proceedings did Mr. Wise give up the packet. Writing, however, at the time to the Raja, he simply complained that such letters should be shown about; on which Brooke expressed his surprise and concern at the occurrence, and, in writing to Mr. Templer, begged that care might be taken and nothing said or done that would in any way injure his agent. The matter appeared to pass over. The Raja came to England, and was greeted with laudations and congratulations from Mr. Wise, who probably saw in the honours conferred a bright prospect for his own future. To be prepared, however, for the worst, he had had the letters secretly copied before returning them, apparently with the idea that a breach might come between himself and his principal, when they could be turned to account; for these letters were written, as were all Brooke's letters to his friends, not for the eye of the public, but for those who understood him, and to whom therefore there was no need to pick and choose his words. What he thought of the acts of public men, and of the character of the men themselves, that he said, sometimes when the boy-like element was uppermost, with a boy-like disregard of conventional terms. Had Mr. Wise dared to publish them as a whole, they would have injured only himself; but, through the medium of *The Straits Times*, at Singapore, sentences torn from their context, and playful allusions to the peculiarities of public men, were brought forward at times most likely to cause personal irritation against the Raja, and in articles where language of

no measured kind was employed to arouse public indignation against a course previously encouraged by Mr. Wise himself.

After the action under Captain Farquhar, in July, 1849, described in the last chapter, and which was followed, as we have seen, by the submission of the tribes attacked, and the request from some that Brooke would send them a ruler, Mr. Wise wrote to the Premier, Lord John Russell :—

34, Cornhill, November 26, 1849.

"My Lord,—Having been the channel of communication in the highly important matters which resulted in the acquisition of Labuan as a British Colony and the appointment of Sir James Brooke as governor thereof, I deem it due to my respect for your lordship's Government, as also to my own character, to express a deep feeling of regret at the recent dreadful proceedings against some of the Dyaks in Borneo. And I beg respectfully to state that, in common with others who, from much experience in the East, are capable of forming an opinion thereon, I believe such proceedings to be not more inconsistent with Sir James Brooke's previous professions as a Christian philanthropist, incompatible with his duties as Governor of Labuan (upwards of three hundred miles distant from the scene of the late slaughter), and unjustifiable on the ground of justice and humanity, than they are unwise, impolitic, and mischievous, as affecting commerce and civilization, and the high reputation of this country. I have, etc.—Henry Wise."

The action of July, 1849, at Point Marro and Kaluka, in which the *Nemesis* and the boats of the *Albatross*, with a force from Saráwak, attacked the Sarebus and Sakarran pirates, is the one alluded to by Mr. Wise under the head of "dreadful proceedings." Hitherto we have seen these proceedings from a Saráwak point of view; we must now turn to the aspect under which they were presented to some in England.

By an Act passed in the reign of George IV., prize-money was granted to the navy for the death and capture of pirates, at

the rate of £20 and £5 respectively. Under no circumstance could Raja Brooke or his followers benefit by this Act.

It has been popularly believed that the clamour raised at this time resulted in the abolition of head-money. The large sum of £100,000 having been allowed for 1849 by Sir Christopher Rawlinson, Recorder of Singapore, before whose court the claims were brought, Lord Russell's Government introduced, early in the session of 1850, a bill, not for the abolition, but amendment, of the Act referred to; the amendment being that, instead of a definite sum per head, each encounter should be decided, in regard to prize-money claims, on its general merits, and by the Admiralty in connection with the Treasury. This bill passed its second reading on February 11th, and its debate gave Mr. Hume and Mr. Cobden the opportunity they desired.

An extract from Mr. Cobden's speech shows the line taken. "He had," he said, "presented a petition from a public meeting held in London, calling the attention of the House to the Borneo massacres. He was prepared to show that there was no evidence that these parties who had been murdered ever molested English commerce. It affected only Sarebus and Sakarran Dyaks. It did not affect the Malays, but was simply a question affecting two small tribes who had the misfortune to live contiguous to a place taken possession of by a man called the Raja of Saráwak. . . . . He believed that if we allowed acts of injustice to be perpetrated, whether in Borneo or elsewhere, and we did not take some steps to remedy those acts of injustice, there was an overruling Providence who ruled the world on principles of justice, and that there would surely be retribution on this island."

Sir Harry Verney, in reply, recommended the study of Sir Stamford Raffles, "who knew more of the condition of that part of the world than the honourable gentleman who had just sat down, or than any member in that House." This was true; but Colonel Thompson probably expressed a feeling prevalent in some minds when he said, "All we wanted was proof that these men were pirates. The fear people had

respecting the head-money was that it held out a temptation to men who were going about the world in command of her Majesty's forces to say, 'Is there anybody we can kill for you under the name of pirates, and charge them in the bill?'"

The public meeting mentioned by Mr. Cobden was probably that summoned by the Peace Society, where everybody having convinced himself and his neighbour very comfortably that piracy was a myth, there rose from the midst of the assembly a certain Aaron Smith. He was, he said, the captain of a merchant vessel, and from his experience of Eastern waters could bear direct testimony that piracy was not a myth, but a very substantial reality. The meeting digested this testimony as best it might. It must have been a little awkward at the time.

On March 21st Mr. Hume moved in the House for certain papers in connection with Borneo: Admiral Sir Francis Collyer's instructions to Captain Farquhar, and the Admiral's own report; Sir James Brooke's despatch to Lord Palmerston (Foreign Secretary) concerning the fort at Sakarran (that fort was a great distress to Mr. Hume), and Lord Palmerston's reply; the depositions taken before the Recorder of Singapore, etc. The papers already presented were, he said, "garbled," and he protested against prize-money being paid for illegal proceedings without more inquiry into the question of the people being pirates, for he was prepared to show "that they were not pirates, but injured and innocent persons."

May 23rd, the subject was again brought forward, this time in connection with the Navy Estimates, when, under the head of "miscellaneous services," the Government asked for £100,000 bounty, for capture and destruction of pirates, slavers, and vessels, £20,000 having been asked in the previous year.

Mr. Cobden, in the course of a speech opposing the vote, said—"A gentleman named Brooke, who was sometimes styled Raja Brooke, became possessed, by means which he

would not now stop to describe, of a district of country north-west of the coast of Borneo. He had certain disputes with his next neighbours, whom he was pleased to call pirates. Now, these people were just as much pirates when Sir James Brooke knew them as they had ever been before. They were tribes who had been in a state of predatory warfare with each other for many years, but had never attacked any of our vessels. This was the real point at issue. . . . There was no proof whatever that the men were pirates, and Sir James Brooke himself admitted that the prisoners whom he had captured—and who, if they were pirates, ought to have been hanged—were treated by him with the greatest kindness, and then sent home. He (Mr. Cobden) declared the men had been murdered without one tittle of evidence that they had ever molested us, and that the evidence against them would not have been sufficient for petty larceny." Later in the debate he explained that he did not mean to say they were all innocent traders, but engaged in intertribal wars.

"We are told they are innocent free-traders," returned Mr. Drummond. "They dealt in men and women, to be sure; and their last act of trade before they were attacked by Sir James Brooke was that they seized upon a body of persons who were really trading, and put them all to death. . . . Because Sir James Brooke was carrying on most successfully and meritoriously a most thriving colony, which a certain person wanted to turn into a matter for his own aggrandizement, taking shares, and making Sir James Brooke a joint jobber with him, that man had been an anonymous slanderer of Sir James Brooke for the last three years—and that was the truth of the matter. As to our having no right to attack persons unless they were pirates against our commerce, why, then, did we send Lord Exmouth out against pirates who never touched any person sailing under the English flag?"

Mr. C. Plowden "thought that in such discussions they would always be better for having Captain Aaron Smith among them; whereon Mr. Cobden rose again. Aaron Smith's testimony was worth nothing; he had himself been

an atrocious pirate, tried for piracy"——"and acquitted," said an honourable member.

Mr. McGregor, chairman of the Eastern Archipelago Company, said "He should oppose the vote. He believed the time would come when Sir James Brooke would be tried in this country for the massacre, and that at the next election gentlemen would hear more on this subject."

Mr. Sidney Herbert said, "If they thought the whole of these proceedings unjust they should appeal, if that were possible, from the decision of the Court of Admiralty of Singapore, or address the Crown for the removal of Sir Christopher Rawlinson for having made an unjust decision. But if neither of these steps was taken, they could not, in common justice, refuse to allot to the officers the money which the Act awarded them. But he would like to ask the Government a question, which he had no doubt they would be able to answer. It was alleged that Sir James Brooke was engaged in extensive mercantile speculations in Saráwak, while the piratical tribes which he had been repressing were principally in the neighbourhood of that locality."

Mr. Bright, in speaking, avoided reference to Sir James Brooke, and grounded his opposition to the vote on an assertion "that £100,000 head-money meant 5000 men killed, and that before payment the country ought to know the reason why." An assertion more effective than accurate, for the money included prahus destroyed and captives taken alive.

On the committee dividing, the Ayes were 145—Noes, 20; and the vote, therefore, passed by a majority of 125.

On the 12th of July Mr. Hume moved for an address to the Queen, "to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the causes which led, since the year 1841, to the employment of the naval and military forces of her Majesty and the Honourable Company on the north-west coast of the island of Borneo, and which resulted in a heavy loss of life on the part of certain native tribes of that island, called Sarebus and Sakarrans, alleged to be pirates." In his speech he said he

had already moved for papers "to elucidate the terrible massacre," but had not yet succeeded in getting them, although he had applied to various quarters and departments. He denied being moved by the private malice of any one. "Mr. Wise was a political agent (?), and when he (Wise) saw the accounts in the newspapers on this subject he was astonished. He wrote to the noble lord at the head of the Government, but though that letter had been asked for it had not been produced."

Mr. Cobden, in seconding the motion, "repudiated the idea that he must pay homage to Sir James Brooke as being a great philanthropist, seeing that he had no other arguments for the savages among whom he went but extermination."

Sir Francis Baring, replying for the Admiralty, said "that he had asked Mr. Hume to point out where the papers already produced were 'garbled,' and he had not done so. Did he know that there was a treaty with the Netherlands Government, by which we were bound to repress piracy?—that the Chambers of Commerce of Leeds, Manchester, Glasgow, and other large towns, had memorialized the Government on the subject of effective repression, and that the merchants of Singapore had done the same? Had there not been inquiry? What better could they have had than a plain and open inquiry before an English judge and an English lawyer? Sir Christopher Rawlinson had at first decided there was not sufficient evidence, but afterwards had been satisfied there was. They had the declarations of the Chambers of Commerce in this country, the address of merchants residing in the neighbourhood of these people, and they had the decision of a court of justice which had carefully inquired into the whole circumstances of the case, and were satisfied as to these people being pirates; and yet honourable gentlemen stood up and declared in the coolest manner that there was not a tittle of evidence to support such an assertion."

Sir T. E. Colebrook "thought the best course for the Government was to instruct Sir James Brooke to return to

his settlement of Labuan. Believing that the settlement of Saráwak was a mere incumbrance, and that it would be well if our connection with that part of the country were abandoned, he should support the honourable member for Montrose (Mr. Hume)."

The Raja was warmly defended by Mr. Plowden, Sir Robert Inglis, Sir Harry Verney, and others, and Mr. Hume was defeated by a majority of 140, 29 members voting with him.

Between these debates Lord Palmerston, as Foreign Secretary, wrote to the Raja.

"April 23, 1850.

"SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your despatches to that of the 5th inclusive; and I have to inform you that the explanations and statements contained in your despatches of February 2nd and March 5th are considered by her Majesty's Government to be perfectly satisfactory; and that her Majesty's Government fully approve the course which you have pursued for the suppression of the system of wholesale piracy in the seas adjoining to Borneo; and I have to instruct you to follow the same course whenever a similar necessity shall arise.

"I am, etc.,

"(Signed) PALMERSTON."

The debate of July has been anticipated in order to have an unbroken account of the action of Parliament during the year, and we return now to February 1st, on which day the subject of so much discussion was writing from Labuan to Mr. Templer—

"I wrote you by the last opportunity, and now wish to write briefly on the subject of the clamour raised by the humanity-mongers, as I understand that I am to be personally assailed in Parliament, and the whole policy pursued is to be called into question.

"Is it not rather late in the day to object, when the same policy has been pursued and pursuing ever since Keppel's

attack on Sarebus, so highly and so generally approved in 1843? Are circumstances altered, or what new enlightenment or revelation have these bastard sympathizers from above or below on the subject, for certainly they have never got any on the earth's surface?

"To be serious, however, my dear Jack, here is a fact—a plain simple fact—of the general piratical character of a community, and numerous facts of particular cases of piracy, testified by admirals, captains, and gentlemen in numbers, either from proofs adduced or from personal examination or experience. There is testimony, more than it is possible to record, from persons attacked upon the high sea, and from the very pirates themselves. Above all, there is the decision of the High Court of Admiralty in England, in Keppel's case, and the recent decision of the Admiralty Court of Singapore, pronouncing these hordes to be pirates. On the other side there is the anonymous information of some person who *dares* not come forward, whispered into the public ear through the medium of a low newspaper in Singapore, and through that source expanded into some newspapers in England. This is monstrous, and absurd enough; but what shall I say when I come to the particular statements advanced against me—the charge of want of humanity—and the instances about a toothless old man being killed, a party of captives murdered in cold blood, and of my having delivered over a woman and her children, made prisoners, into hopeless slavery! . . . If Mr. Cobden does not like Dyak allies to punish Dyak pirates, let him propose an increase of navy estimates. Would he sacrifice the innocent to the guilty? Would they, by obstructing the punishment of the pirates, encourage their depredations? Being suppressed, or nearly so, by vigorous action, do they desire a renewal of slaughter? Taken in any light it is sacrificing the innocent to the guilty. On the question of humanity it may be stated that every step has been taken to save life and diminish the cruelty of warfare.' It is true that war causes loss of life, and that many pirates lost their lives in fighting or in flight. It is equally true that many un-

offending people would have lost their lives had the pirates been spared, and that yearly a slaughter of the innocent takes place. It is demonstrated that the vigorous measures taken by Captain Keppel checked the system of depredation, and for five years greatly reduced the annual loss of life; that a relaxation of severity led to renewed atrocities and renewed depredations, which have resulted in the defeat of the pirates and the loss of life; but this is to be attributed to relaxing from our vigilance. One severe lesson has nearly ended the system, and has led to the submission of the pirates; undo what has been done, and the loss of life would be yearly larger than it has been to the pirates this [last] year, and with the *slight difference* that it would fall on the unoffending, instead of the offending.

"Do not imagine that this [clamour] disturbs my repose properly so called. No man conscious of right motives is likely to be chicken-hearted; and for my part I am no tame lion, to be cowed by the baying of a pack of hounds, or the shouts of the huntsmen, and I would turn round and rend my pursuers, or give them such gentle pats with my affectionate paw as to teach them truth and manners; but the misfortune" is, they are baying on the other side of Lake Atlantic, and won't take water, whilst I cannot. What would you advise me to do then? Do you advise patience, or ferocity, or facts, or an action at law? I shall write to Cameron on the latter point, who will advise with you if necessary. Locally, I shall take a few steps, and use every endeavour to drag forward the anonymous opponent, whom I know, or rather can guess, though not able to prove it on him.

"I continue better, but my health is not robust, and I shall be greatly improved by a little quiet; and could I get on the hill at Penang, I should in a day or two forget all the bustle, and turmoil, and talk, and abuse going on in London, and enjoy myself with old dame Nature as though I were a quiet, humane, inoffensive creature, instead of a 'monster in human form,' eating babies and drinking blood, and killing innocent pirates with a gusto appreciated by the Autocrat of Russia,

and a few other nobs, who can afford to hold Cobden cheap, and laugh at the idea of the world being ruled by a bag of wind or a clap of state thunder.

"God bless thee, my friend, and with my kind regards to Mrs. Templer, and all the dear folks I know or who know me and still believe me to be indifferently honest—I remain, etc."

A fortnight later he wrote to Major Stuart—"A man so popular as I was a short time since, ought, as a reasoning creature, to have looked forward to a turn of the wheel of the fickle goddess; and I assure you I am by no means surprised at suddenly being converted, from something better than mortal man, into a blood-stained, slaughter-loving monster in human form. The comfort is, that as the wheel has turned once, it will in the course of events turn again and bring me from the bottom to the top; and that, wherever the place may be, the value of public opinion is not great, and the censure of faction and ignorance of little moment. I have never courted popular applause, and I would never turn from my course in consequence of popular condemnation. I am certain of my ground—I know what I am doing. I am supported by the consciousness of being of use to thousands of my fellow-men, and I can judge the difference between the good and the bad amongst whom I live, in the same way as the erudite philanthropists distinguish the police from the swell-mob, or the Lord Chief Baron from a felon. My astonishment is that all this outcry is raised in the name of philanthropy. We really must have some new names for the virtues as opposed to the vices, for fear of their becoming utterly confounded."

The dilatory operations of the Eastern Archipelago Company were now a continual source of worry. "That laggard Company keeps us back: it does nothing itself, and deters others from coming here [Labuan], and one of our elements of success is at present our poison and hindrance."

Early in March the Raja was at Singapore, and there learnt from the English papers the virulence of the attack on him, led chiefly by the *Daily News*.

"I do not doubt," he says, "the good sense of the country; but I begin to feel there is no distinction, no wealth, no sphere of usefulness, which can repay a gentleman for the disgrace of his name and character bandied about in the mouths of demagogues."

From Singapore, March 15th, he wrote as follows to Mrs. Nicholetts. Captain Brooke had been for some months in China, for he also, having suffered from the Labuan fever, had sought relief in change of climate.

"Brooke has returned to Saráwak, but I believe will join me when I am well enough to go to Siam, to which Court I have been appointed Envoy to form a new treaty. I do not above half like the job, and shall be glad when it is over one way or another. I trust Brooke will like Saráwak; but as yet he cannot know whether he will do so or not, for he has never been there long at one time, and he was ill whilst living there alone. But, after all, it is not a life which many people would like: it is a life of monotonous quiet, of trial, forbearance, and of comparative poverty; it is a life that stern duty may make pleasant, and imagination may gild with delight; but it is a life far from the pomps and vanities of life, and any one whose portion is in the European world will never settle to it. Will Brooke like all this? Will he, if need be, cast off country, wife, children, friends, and lay down life itself for the good of those he is called to rule over? Will he rise above that paltry world in which we live? I trust he will, and I am sure that if he does not like the life he will say so; for he is noble and manly.

"I often long to see some of you, and perhaps some day we shall be able to meet when money grows plentiful. I hope I shall not be too old or too sick to be joyful and merry—at present I could be both if I could get away from the *shop* and all the trouble it brings. Neither you nor Gilbert must be annoyed by what the newspapers say. They cannot turn right into wrong, truth into falsehood, so we may let them abuse and vilify without heeding them. God bless you,

dearest. I am glad to hear that you liked your scarf: do pray wear it often, for it is not fine."

Reference to this letter is made in a later one—Singapore, June 16, 1850—

"I wish you could come and see us, and judge for yourself whether Brooke would be justified in asking a lady to share his fate. My opinion is that it would be quite right for him to get a wife as soon as ever we have funds to support her. It is not every woman, however, who would be content with a Saráwak life, for there are ladies in the world who love dancing and gossiping, and fine clothes, and gay company. The danger is he may light on such a one; and if he does, why then he must give up his wife for his country, his own gratification and happiness for the happiness of tens of thousands. This is what I meant when I said he must give up wife and children, and country—that is, if need be; but I hope he may have a better fate, and choose a dear little wife like you, who would be content to go with her husband to Sierra Leone, or even a hotter place."

Again referring to something in a previous letter, he continues—

"I quite forget what I said, but I suppose it was an account of Dickey, my Malacca thrush, who is the most impertinent and tamest of birds: sings, and is learning to whistle, and chuckles, and, besides, he makes every curious noise under the sun. It is a species of mocking-bird found at Malacca, and, I think, at Saráwak. I have been very extravagant in horse-flesh lately, having bought a grey Arab, a middling bad one, and a large Australian horse, sixteen and a half hands high, and a gig—all for Labuan. I bought the horse because he was cheap, and now the horse is too big for the gig. Brooke has the very ugliest beast of a pony that ever was seen. The head and eyes are like a pig's, and his coat is more of bristles than of hairs. Grant is not mounted. St. John, my assistant, has a three-legged one, about fifty years of age, of quiet temper, demure habits, serious disposition, and slow paces. What is the name of your pet Arab?

Has he a name yet? Is it Laura, or Conrad, or Beppo, or what?

"I do not do much here. We daily try, with our stupid interpreter, to translate English letters into Siamese. The day before yesterday he had to translate—'Palmerston, the Minister of the Queen of England, salutes the chief minister of the King of Siam,' and for 'salutes' he said, 'fires guns in honour of the chief minister of Siam'

Sir James Brooke was at this time waiting at Singapore for the arrival of H.M.S. *Hastings*, which was to convey him to Siam. The United States had failed in an attempt to enter into a treaty with the Siamese, and the Raja was not sanguine of success.

"I am anxious," he wrote, "to get this mission over, once more to return to Borneo, which is my proper sphere, and where I can do most good. Siam is, however, a country well worthy of attention, and, in a commercial point of view, second only to China; but the Government is as arrogant as that of China, and the King, by report, is inimical to Europeans. The difficulty is rendered greater by twenty-seven years of non-intercourse, which has served to encourage the Siamese in their self-conceit, and which has lowered us in their good opinion. I shall try every means to conciliate their good opinion, and not force a treaty upon the King, which when concluded would be but wasted parchment if not enforced, and, if enforced, would inevitably lead to a war, though a petty one. On the contrary, I consider that time should be given to the work of conciliation, that their prejudices should be gradually undermined rather than violently upset, and that (as we have delayed for thirty years doing anything) in the course of this policy we may wait till the demise of the King brings about a new order of things. Above all, it would be well to prepare for the change, and to place our own king on the throne; and the king of our choice is, fortunately, the legitimate sovereign, whose crown was usurped by his elder illegitimate brother. This prince, Chow-Fa-Mungkuk, is now

a priest, and a highly accomplished gentleman for a semi-barbarian. He reads and writes English; is instructed in our astronomy, and has a very high opinion of our arts, learning, and government. This prince we ought to place on the throne, and through him we might, beyond doubt, gain all we desire."

The accounts that now reached the Raja of Labuan and of Saráwak were all good, and he longed to get the Siam mission over and be off to various rivers whose tribes were opening to peaceful influences. It is strange to turn from Mr. Cobden's commiseration of the natives that had "the misfortune to live contiguous to a place taken possession of by a man called the Raja of Sárawak," and to find the Raja himself writing that Sakarran, Sarebus, Kanowit, and the Kayans of Barram must all be visited, because—

"All these people have sent to me, desiring my friendship, offering to make me their chief, and professing their great desire to be allowed to trade as the folks at Saráwak trade. They are quite independent of Brunê, and carry on a war against the Sultan, and are year by year driving in the Borneo outposts and appropriating territory. This intertribal war is not piracy; but, if my influence can lessen its horrors, I shall endeavour my best in hard-hearted cruelty to do so. The Borneon Government deserves little of good at my hands, but I would fain keep them up if I can, and the succession of Muda Hassim's son will perhaps afford an opportunity of raising them above their present miserable position, brought about by their outrageously bad Government."

The unnecessary delay at Singapore and the uncertainty of its termination were wearying. Nor was it pleasant to find himself "completely humbugged," waiting for a vessel that never came. Meanwhile each mail brought its account of attack and defence on his character and policy. Extracts from various letters will show his feeling. The first is dated Penang, April 1, 1850.

"The mere personal attacks trouble me no longer, and in the period of reflection, caused by sickness and promoted by solitude, I can freely forgive those who have thought it

worth their while to become my enemies, and the enemies of as just and righteous a cause as man ever strove to advance.

"I sincerely desire to see my way clearly, and to do my duty without being influenced by passion or any other base motive; and I am quite certain that the sort of ambition which would influence the multitude, and be attractive to men of my class and rank, would not sway me for an instant. As long as I am out of the world, I can set a right value on its distinctions and applause. I would not answer for myself if drawn into the vortex of paltry ambition or personal rivalry, for I have passions strong enough to mislead me, and an imagination vivid enough to convert tinsel into gold, and to deck the struggle of faction or opinion with the halo of principle. Lucky, therefore, I esteem myself that I am far from the scene of petty strife, and able to devote myself to the performance of actual and tangible good in Saráwak and its neighbourhood.

"The time will come when no gentleman will serve the public, and your blackguards and your imbeciles may have a monopoly of appointments; though I believe there is not a cozy demagogue amongst the pack who would lead the life I lead for double the lucre I receive. It would not suit any of these ranting lovers of peace and popularity, either in its exposure to danger and climate, or its monotony. What do they know of the jungle—its sights, or its sounds, its intense quiet at mid-day, or its noisy waking at daylight and at set of sun! Away with them, dear Jack; let's banish their worldly ambition, their love of pelf, their noisy excitement, the breath of their declamation, the shadows they pursue in the midst of empty sound and turmoil, their calculating heads, and hard hearts!—let us banish all these far from us, and look for peace and beauty and God in this lower world.

"*April 7th.*—I have been suffering much since I wrote this, and do not yet write with comfort. I try to bear as well as I can, and not to complain. Suffering is good for us all, for it lifts the veil which hides eternity, and makes us desire an existence better and beyond this one."

"If it is necessary, you may mention that often and often I have been tempted to foment an intertribal war between Sakarran and Sarebus, in order to divert their attention from the coast; that I had the means of so doing—at least I think so—and that I rejected it as being too bloody in its results.

"When I assert people to be pirates, I am bound to prove it, which has been done; but when Cobden asserts that unnecessary acts of inhumanity have been committed which could have been avoided, he is bound to prove that, against my flat contradiction."

"The action" (at Point Marro) "was a night action; the pirates were entirely surrounded, and, after their first panic, dashed at Point Marro and engaged our native force guarding it; but, failing to force a passage at once, they ran their prahus ashore to the number of ninety, and fled into the jungle. In this encounter several of our people were wounded, and one or two killed. The remains of this large fleet, trying to escape by sea, were cut up by the steamer *Nemesis*. The total loss during the night engagement, on the part of the pirates, was three hundred men killed—two hundred and fifty by the steamer and fifty by the natives. They could not resist the steamer, but they did engage the natives, and would not have abandoned their prahus so easily excepting from the dread of being attacked Kaluka side.

"I held firm in the Kaluka river,* with my division, to prevent any of the pirates ascending it, or returning along the coast to the Rejang. I was ill of ague when the fight commenced, and during the whole night information was brought me that a desperate struggle had taken place between the pirates and our people at Point Marro, and rumours were rife that we had been defeated. During this time there was no water for our heavy boats between the Kaluka and Sarebus, without going a very long way round and leaving the Kaluka open. The morning assured us of victory. Now, will any one state at what time the action should have been discontinued? Should all the pirates have been allowed to escape, or half of

* Four miles from where the *Nemesis* was engaged.

them, or a quarter, and by what patent means is an action to be stopped at any given moment?

"In the morning, when the result was known, our fleet gathered together, and, with the pirate prahus captured, we moved up the river, passed the Rembas, and ascended the Paku, thus drawing off our force as much as possible from the pursuit. Had I taken possession of the neck of land between Sarebus and Palo, the three thousand men must have fought and been killed, or died of starvation. Had we gone up the Rembas we might have killed the fugitives by hundreds. As it was, some thirty to fifty of these fugitives were killed by our stragglers, but how was this to be avoided? Stragglers and loose fish are to be found with every body of men, whether European or native, and the number thus killed appears to me exceedingly small considering the circumstances, and our natives behaved with great humanity.

"We had one prahu from Sadong manned by Malays, every one of whom had lost a near relative, killed by the Sarebus during the year!

"I know very well that these people are to be reclaimed by punishment and by kindness, and there is no chance of their being 'exterminated,' though there is a certainty of all the poorer and peaceful Dyak tribes being exterminated if the Sarebus and Sakarran are countenanced by the English philanthropists, and encouraged to slaughter their neighbours.

"The Peace Society and the Aborigines' Protection Society are the aiders and abettors and advocates of as bloody a set of murderers and pirates as ever put to sea to cut throats or capture vessels. All that the people of the north-west coast of Borneo ask of these societies is peace and security for trade; and if the navy and people of Saráwak, etc., are not allowed to deal with these pirates, the Peace Society and the Philo-Aborigines' Society must deal with them themselves, and if they will act instead of talk, they are very welcome to have it all to themselves!

"N.B.—Mr. —— says I am actuated by 'sinister motives.' What does he mean? Does he mean that I share in the

head-money, or that anybody with me or about me, or other than the navy, share in what is given them by Act of Parliament? If he means this, he is notoriously wrong. Does he mean that I gain money from the pirates, or that I have some object to serve beyond the professed and ostensible and most desirable one? He will find this assertion difficult of proof. The Government of Bruné is acquainted and approves of what is done, and to establish Saráwak influence is to establish peace and security. Those who come to Saráwak can judge the tendency of Saráwak influence and the benefits of firm government."

"All that is said amounts to this:—

"1st. The Sarebus are *not* pirates.

"*Answer.* A Court of Admiralty has said they are pirates.

"2nd. That these excursions are in consequence of petty feuds between tribes.

"*Answer.* If this be so, these tribes are at war with the Netherlands Government, and with every other community, along a coast line of one thousand miles.

"3rd. That there is no difference between the Malays and Dyaks of Sarebus and the Malays and Dyaks of other communities, in the mode of conducting these warlike forays.

"*Answer.* The difference is this—that the other thirty or forty communities do not go to sea on warlike or piratical expeditions, and all live at peace one with another; whilst the Sarebus constantly go to sea on piratical cruises, and devastate the other countries; and also, that the other tribes do not slaughter indiscriminately, which the Sarebus do. When I say Sarebus, I mean Sakarran too.

"The other tribes of Dyaks and the communities of Malays are not at war with each other, or with any one else; but the Sarebus are. The Sarebus pirate or war ('tis but a name) on every other tribe and community: on the Dutch territory, on the island of Natunas, on the Chinese—who never retort—on the Malays, on the Dyaks, on their own sovereign of Bruné; in short, they pirate indiscriminately,

or they make war against their world; and what do other pirates do?

"It is true these tribes are not well armed, but they are as well armed as their opponents, excepting a few Malay communities. They are very numerous, and let them, through the kindness of Mr. Cobden, obtain firearms—and blood and treasure, soldiers as well as sailors, will be required to cope with them. The Malanaus, the last people attacked at Matu, are a peaceful, quiet, unwarlike race, who can no more cope against the Sarebus than the Sarebus can cope against us.

"When they talk of private motives of gain and wealth, etc. (Wise's hobby), tell them that I am £10,000 out of pocket by Saráwak; and that the revenue of Saráwak is, like the revenue of any other place, applied for public purposes; and if it were twenty times as large as at present I could dispose of it for public purposes, strictly to advance the good of the country and people, and to cement the foundations of a government which shall last when I have crumbled to dust. If they say I derive money from any other river besides Saráwak it is false, and they must prove it; and, besides, every step I have taken is known to our Government, and approved by the rulers of Brunéi."

"I entertain well-grounded expectations that their [the Sarebus] depredations at sea can be entirely put a stop to, and that the coast can be rendered both safe and peaceful. This will be done by the severe lesson they have received and by a surveillance over them in future, and, instead of the brutal inhumanity of allowing this struggle to continue to the destruction and extinction of Sarebus or of the other communities, by checking these pirates, and only insisting upon one point, but insisting upon that firmly. We must insist upon their abandoning piracy, and we must force them to do so. The consequences will naturally follow: trade will be secure; these rivers will add their quota to the general stock; and, instead of the miserable dribbling commerce now carried on, we shall develop a commerce worth having.

"Take Saráwak as an example. It produced nothing under native rule; now its exports yearly may be fairly reckoned from 200,000 to 250,000 dollars, and the native tonnage yearly at 2000. Saráwak is by no means superior to most of the rivers, and greatly inferior to several, and Saráwak is only in its infancy, and as yet has never had any capital to advance its development; a little good government has done it all. But without going further, if every river on this coast produced as much as Saráwak, we should have a million sterling of exports, and the same of imports, and the greater part flowing to our markets.

"Bruné is another example in point. When Sir Thomas Cochrane forced them to respect our ships and merchants, it rose to the dignity of an exporting country, and the trade trebled directly. But we must have peace on the coast."

"How shall I thank you, my dear friend [Mr. Templer]! Not in words, for I could not express the every-day affection I have for you, and much less my sense of the stand you have made in defence of my character and honour, against the reproaches cast upon both by men whose motives I cannot even guess at, but whose falsehood and shamelessness and unfairness must ultimately injure themselves far more than they can injure me. I can only thank you from my heart, and you must judge my heart by your own.

"If I were to say that I expected you to do less than you have done, I should do an injustice both to your friendship and to my own; and more, I am sure, you could not do than has been done, and done so judiciously and well.

"The articles in the *Times* are quite perfect—cool, judicious, and well-reasoned upon the ground of general character of the journals as a whole. I need not say more, for I have sent you so many crushing Cobden documents, that as far as facts go the question is at rest."

"The debate in Parliament is probably over, but remember that if a shadow of doubt ever entered or now exists in the minds of Ministers, I am the party soliciting inquiry and investigation."

"This clamour and obloquy does not in the slightest degree annoy or vex me. At first I was indignant and surprised, thinking the shafts came from Mr. Wise's hands. When they continued, I felt sorrow and uneasiness that any persons could conscientiously so distort facts and think so ill of me; but when I discovered that they were personal and spiteful, without reference to truth or justice, my regret passed away. I was prepared to proceed *à l'outrance* with these defamers, and to defy them to do their worst. They are asses to have pushed the attack with such perceptible malignity and personality; a cooler tone would have answered their purpose better, and probably put me to the trouble of defending myself before a committee of the House, which, after all, would not have been disagreeable, as the country would, I presume, have paid my expenses, and I should have had a run home."

"*July 26th, Singapore.*—I have been *rather* surprised by an order from the Foreign Office to send copies of my correspondence to Mr. —— Of course I have declined, or rather requested to be allowed to act as heretofore, independently, and if not, of course I shall resign. This will not grieve me, for the public service is a nuisance, and my time, instead of being usefully employed, is frittered away in trifles, and I hurry from Labuan to Saráwak, to Sulu, Siam, Cochin China, and Heaven knows where else; and the truth is, if our policy were as vigorous and earnest as I wish it to be, three men as clever and younger than myself should be engaged watching our political relations, and suppressing piracy with a strong hand. With my abilities concentrated on Saráwak, and my time devoted to advance its best interests, more good could be done than running from place to place, controlled and fettered, opposed and persecuted. Remember, too, my love of books, of quiet, of the society of a few friends, the joy I have in nature. Why should I sacrifice these pleasures and feelings for anything short of a positive and tangible life of usefulness? Men often deceive themselves with the idea of their usefulness and the value of their services, and cloak under it

a warm spring of ambition; but I do not deceive myself. If I am ambitious at all, it is on such a grand scale as to scorn stars, garters, and coronets. I feel very like simple *honest J. B.*, though I am an acknowledged sovereign by the United States.'

"I shall not mind, therefore, having a fair excuse for requesting my *congé;* and, at any rate, when Labuan has advanced I shall not, of course, continue to hold the governorship. I wish, however, to see Labuan fairly through its difficulties, and these difficulties are caused by the Eastern Archipelago Company, which, from being in Mr. Wise's hands, of course failed.

"I will tell you the steps I have taken from a sense of duty. The charter was granted for two purposes—1st. For the rapid development of the resources of Labuan. 2nd. That we might avail ourselves of the new branches of commerce opened by my relations with Saráwak.

"It appears that in 1848, H. and J. Henderson, of Mincing Lane, and nine other influential firms, offered to pay down the £100,000 required by the charter, and that their capital was withdrawn in consequence of a misunderstanding as to the remuneration to be paid to Mr. Wise for his privileges, *his individual rights*, said to have been granted by Government. Mr. Wise contended that the company should be formed first, and his remuneration be afterwards discussed; the capitalists, that they must clearly know the amount and shape of remuneration before they stirred. Thus, for Mr. Wise's sake, the public object was wrecked, and the confidence of the moneyed world lost, and since that time, the Eastern Archipelago Company has been a bubble, and unable to rise to the dignity of a bankrupt company.

"This story tells itself. After urging Government to render the Company effective, I have, in consequence of Mr. M'Gregor the Chairman's speech, and Wise's known enmity, come forward with all this history, and said that I look with distrust and suspicion on the character and conduct of the Company as at present managed.

"Of course this is a public and not a private story, and the evils attending a collision between the Company and myself must be apparent. It is monstrous, however, that the public purposes should have been postponed and lost sight of to suit the pocket of Mr. Wise. This must recoil upon Wise, and if Messrs. H. and J. Henderson are now allowed they will still take the Company in hand, and produce the necessary capital, but they will not have anything to do with him."

In contrast to the opposition of a small party in England, the friendliness of the United States was at this time shown. Their President had already addressed Sir James Brooke as the "Ruler of the State of Saráwak;" and their Envoy, coming to Kuching, had congratulated him on the success of his endeavours to suppress piracy, and proposed a Convention between the two countries which should give to the flag of Saráwak the same privileges in the ports of the United States as the American flag, and *vice versâ*. Wishing first to know the mind of the British Government, the Raja had kept these advances private, but now the United States Envoy himself publicly mentioned the proposal.

The despatch from Lord Palmerston, in reply to the Raja's on the subject, is dated October 24, 1850. The Foreign Secretary was "not exactly aware of the precise nature of the Raja's position at Saráwak, and whether it was such with relation to the Sultan of Borneo, as to entitle him to make a Treaty with a foreign power touching matters connected with the territory of Saráwak, but there seemed nothing objectionable in the general terms of the arrangement proposed by the Government of the United States."

Another encouragement lay in the fact that on July 31st, the first anniversary of the Point Marro engagement, the Raja could write that during that year not a single innocent life had been taken by pirates, nor a single vessel fallen into their hands. "The substantial good of our victory has been greater than that of many victories famous in story."

CHAPTER XX.

1850—1852.

H.M.S. *Sphynx* arrived at length in the place of the *Hastings*, and Sir James Brooke, leaving Singapore, proceeded to Siam early in August. Some account of the mission is found in two of his letters, written in October, on his return to Singapore, to Mr. Templer and to the Rev. Richard Coxe.

"The mission in Siam is a dead failure; they must be taught a lesson, as they are committing frightful outrages on British subjects. I had a very trying time of it, and altogether got out of an unpleasant and critical position without loss of national or individual credit, although I was sore tempted and my temper sorely tried. You may fancy how bad it was when I mention that I secluded myself, and never breathed the fresh air of heaven during a long month of my stay. This was a defensive measure to avoid all chance of insult, and that inevitable lowering in public estimation which these arrogant and semi-barbarous people always attempt with Europeans.

"The more experience I acquire the more I am convinced that our policy should be commanding, and our power exerted when necessary. My policy in Saráwak has been high-handed against evil-doers, and there, and in England, and in Siam, there are bad to be punished, as well as good to be cared for. Your slip-shod policy is in the end a bloody and a cruel one. Civilization and power in our hands authorize us

to punish, to correct, as well as to foster, native governments; and, practically, there can be no greater folly than talking and acting on the principle of non-intervention with governments which by their ordinary action destroy trade, impede progress, and shed more blood habitually and wantonly, than any course of stringent and commanding measures could shed to attain security for the native population and peace for ourselves. Our Eastern policy is nothing but a slip-shod expediency, which we shall some day rue; for it will force us into strong measures when the cup of insult and humiliation has been drained to the dregs. I would be just but commanding. I would use the power we undoubtedly possess to amend native governments whose existence is a prolonged cruelty to mankind, and a shadow to us at which we start."

Through the mails that had reached Singapore during his absence at Siam, Brooke must on his return have received the report of the debate on Mr. Hume's motion of July 12th.

"I do not attempt to thank you," he wrote to Mr. Templer, who had done all in his power to organize a defence for his friend, and to let the facts of the case be known to members of the House of Commons and others, "for I am unable to do so, and have done so before; but I feel that I like to be obliged to you, and would do as much for you as you have done for me, provided you are unlucky enough to give me the chance.

"I express what I feel, a warm gratitude to those who have defended me—who have taken the trouble to inquire into the truth, and to expose the falsehood. Amongst these prominently are Henry Drummond. . . . But is it not strange that I have no Government defender, not one influential Ministerial voice in the House of Commons to support my reputation and to avow the approbation of Ministers. Am I right, dear Jack, in feeling hurt at this, in regarding it as less than my due, and beneath their dignity? In a position more responsible perhaps than any under the Crown, as being solely dependent on my own judgment, and beyond the reach of Ministerial assistance or advice to guide or rule, am I to be

left half disowned? Or is it the support which Government finds from Cobden and his party that cools its zeal, and renders it unrighteously cautious?

"The man persecuted in his own country is respected and loved in Borneo, and, I may say, throughout the Archipelago. And what assistance have I had? A weak and vacillating course has been pursued for thirty years past, and will be pursued still. There are no systematic measures taken, no power granted, no real confidence manifested in myself or any one else—no efficient support given.

"I feel, I know instinctively, that the war of words will supersede all the benefits of action; that supineness and indifference to distant spheres render England unfit to carry out a consistent course of policy in the East. The age of noble confidence is gone, and the bagman distrust of Manchester has taken its place; yet, whilst I live will I not turn my hand from the plough, nor do I wish to complain. There is a moral might developed in a man's soul by persecution in a right cause, which is superior to fortune's gifts or earthly treasure. There is a self-reliance, and a reliance on a good cause, which raise us above the world's opinion and men's judgment. I trust I am learning something of this, and I can sincerely say that, beyond a just indignation, I entertain no vindictive feeling towards those who are pleased to be my enemies. They may injure me in prospects and in peace, but they cannot deprive me of the consciousness of right, the love of my friends, the attachment and respect of the native communities, or the gratification of duty done. They cannot reduce me to their own level of feeling and language. That I have faults enough, Heaven knows. I have a fixedness of purpose, and a devotion in any cause I embrace, so unfortunately mixed up with a lightness of temper, and a scoffing playfulness, and an abhorrence of cant, that the solemn and silly will never comprehend my character, and the suspicious and worldly never will trust and always will abuse me.

"Remember, that I am ready to come home at any time to face my enemies if it be necessary; but I do not desire to

mix myself up in these wordy contentions, unless it be advisable.

"I often think what would have been the end had I not had you to advocate my cause, and to arrange a defence against this unworthy and malignant persecution. I should have been condemned unheard—too proud to volunteer a defence, and too careless and too ignorant to seek the means necessary for rebutting false accusations. *And this would have been justice!* I often ask myself, how can these men, Hume and Cobden, reconcile it before God to their own consciences to denounce an absent man, or to condemn a man unheard? And this is what they call fair play, and manly English feeling! They preach of peace, whilst they banish charity from the earth!"

Mr. Hume had quoted in his speech from letters of the Raja, supplied by Mr. Wise, and as these were also used against their author in the *Straits Times* at Singapore, it was thought advisable to publish them in full, with others. The idea appears to have originated among friends in England, and it was carried out by Mr. Templer in 1853. "There should be a preface by you, and a running commentary. I leave it, and everything in your hands, and you need only refer to me when you think necessary," Brooke wrote (October 6th). "I send you some other letters; you will see that they are to my mother, and she treasured them, and I found them when she left the world. What pain would all this have given her, for she was sensitive in the extreme.

"How I rejoiced to hear such good accounts of your dear folks," is the conclusion of this letter; "and how much I should have liked to have made that excursion with you to Devonshire!

"Think you, Jack, we can take together a week's walking excursion to the westward of Penzance, when the heather and the furze are in full blossom, and when crag and cliff are lighted up with a bright sunshine, and the dark rocks and green sea are merry on a May day? In former years I went by myself on this little trip and rejoiced greatly therein.

"There is, indeed, pleasure in looking back at these things and the feelings they inspired, though Hume and Cobden bark, and Wise doth pull the string."

On October 25th the Raja reached Saráwak, very glad to be back after ten months' absence. Everything was prospering, and the country advancing more than he had dreamed of witnessing in his lifetime. Shortly before his return about four thousand Chinese had made their appearance, not to the unmingled satisfaction of Saráwak. They had been attacked by their own countrymen at Sambas, and, getting the worst of it, came to the universal refuge. Captain Brooke, joined by Mr. McDougall, had in vain tried to persuade them to settle at the mouth of the Saráwak River; they must needs swarm up to Kuching, where the Government supplied them with rice till they could settle and get to work. For lodging they suited themselves, and Mr. McDougall going one night to take a last look of his little church, now nearly finished, and a conspicuous object in the scene, found it filled with mats containing sleeping Chinese. It is needless to say that they were dislodged from their retreat.

The Raja's first work was to visit the Quop River and its tribes. These were now at the summit of Dyak ideas of happiness, and the next step would be to raise that idea a little higher. Then the Chinese arrivals had to be located, and the old Kunsis looked after. At Sakarran, meanwhile, Mr. Brereton had been joined by a Mr. Lee, and on the footsteps of these two there followed before long the missionary Mr. Chambers.* Mr. Brereton was now living on his own private means, and spending what revenue the wild tribes brought in on the expenses of their government. At present this was little. It was the Raja's desire that when more could be raised the Bruné Government should have its fair proportion. The scrupulous care taken that this shadow of a power,

* The Rev. W. Chambers reached Saráwak in 1851. After many years of devoted labour he was, in 1870, consecrated Bishop of Labuan and Saráwak in succession to Dr. McDougall.

unable to injure him save through intrigue, and at his mercy, should be not only justly but generously treated, is worthy of note. The fort which formed Mr. Brereton's head-quarters had been built chiefly at the Raja's expense. It was situated at the junction of the Sakarran with the Batang Lupar, on the site of the old stronghold of Sheriff Muller, destroyed by Captain Keppel in 1844. Sheriff Muller had then taken flight, but, now a wiser man, he returned and settled down under the shadow of the new fort. Here, too, came the widow of Sheriff Sahib to pass the latter years of her life in peace, and hence she now sent her young son, in the company of Mr. Grant, to spend a fortnight at Kuching on a visit to the Raja.

At this portion of our history we have to look to Borneo for our facts, and to the House of Commons for the deductions therefrom. We learn from Mr. Hume, that Sir James Brooke's whole action in this matter was an "aggression" on Sakarran. Be that as it may, the tribes of the great river Rejang now courted an aggression of the same nature, for they petitioned the Raja to let them have a fort, too; and a Kayan chief named Kum Nipa, living far up the river, sent word that he would help in its erection, and, further, that if Brooke governed he would leave his old haunts in the interior and settle near the coast for the advantage of trade. These Kayans were very friendly, and other tribes hitherto unknown sent embassies to Saráwak asking assistance or advice, and getting what of the former the Raja could grant, with a groan that it could not be more, and much of the latter, given in words that came home to them; while for practical effect, beyond all counsel, there was the sight of the contentment of Saráwak.

"I ask but one thing of them, that is, to renounce piracy," Brooke wrote, with special reference to Sakarran; "and if I am not prevented, and my life be spared, I do not doubt being able to extend the benefits of good government along the entire coast. I have power, great power, but I maintain that I use it for the benefit of the mass of the people, for the benefit of

the miserable Bruné government, and for the extension of our national commerce.

"Ask Mr. Cobden whether this is not better than insecurity and bloodshed and piracy and intertribal wars? And whisper in Mr. Hume's ear, that what I have done for Sakarran I intend doing for other rivers; and that I am proud to see my own countrymen ruling a willing people; and that I don't suspect every Englishmen of being a rascal; nay, I am inclined to believe that Joseph himself is not a bad fellow, barring his obstinacy and suspicious turn of mind."

Labuan was to a certain extent prospering now, and Bruné the darkest spot. Brooke grieved over the people. "It is miserable to be the witness of human suffering, to feel the power of being able to relieve this misery and to know that forms and shadows prevent one doing so."

Unhappily, fever again attacked him, and, after a partial recovery, there came a relapse, followed by such weakness that, finding himself useless for work, and being able to leave everything in Captain Brooke's hands, he decided to go home, but not to be a lion again—"the work is too hard, and it does not pay at the price,"—and not to live in London if it could possibly be avoided. There was at Greenwich a cottage with three bedrooms—Rose Cottage, by name—kept by a good old Mrs. Crofts, who would, he was persuaded, take care of him, and this Mr. Templer was asked to engage for him at once, for if Rose Cottage was to be had no other cottage in all England would do.

Late in December he was at Labuan, and in January, 1851, at Singapore, where he learned that the editor of the *Straits Times*, a Mr. Woods, had been appointed deputy sheriff, and messenger of the Bankruptcy Court. For three years his paper had been the channel of the most unscrupulous imputations on the motives and actions of Sir James Brooke and of the officers of the *Nemesis*. If he were right, they were murderers and felons. Although repeatedly challenged to give proof of statements absolutely denied, and, in particular, to show his authority for the account given of the

expedition up the Kaluka in May, 1849, Mr. Woods had declined doing so, thereby making himself responsible for them. A correspondence followed between the Raja, as Governor of Labuan, and the Governor of Singapore, the former objecting on public grounds to the appointment, and the latter declining to interfere.

After his appointment Mr. Woods collected signatures to a memorial, signed also by himself, addressed to Mr. Hume, cordially approving of that gentleman's previous action, and setting forth the necessity of inquiry into the so-called piracy of the Sarebus and Sakarran Dyaks, when inquiry had been already made and judgment given by the court of which Mr. Woods had become an officer. Of this memorial we shall hear again.

Before leaving Singapore the Raja wrote to Mr. McDougall, asking that missionaries might be sent to the more distant rivers, where the field of labour seemed to him great and promising. Kanowit and Sakarran were ripe for harvest, but great prudence and forbearance would be necessary in gathering it in. "I must say," he wrote, "that any measure that tends to satisfy the craving at home for spurious and speedy results, by showing a list of converts monthly and yearly, should be discouraged and suppressed. It is building the superstructure on a foundation of sand; it would be permanently injurious to the ultimate object of the mission, and it would be dangerous to the public peace." He then goes on to suggest that Mr. McDougall should become Bishop of Saráwak. "There would be no objection on my part; and I consider certainly that some authority within the church itself is necessary to control the clergy, and to offer to the Government a responsible person with whom it could treat, and in whom it could confide.

"Farewell; may peace and goodwill be with you in Saráwak! and, if God so will, I shall once more return."

From Malta (March 30th) he wrote again—no more advice, but in simple friendliness. "My mind," he says, "is generally far away from my body, and lingers with you all, in Saráwak

and Borneo. What are cities and temples to jungles and Dyaks! And what are the knightly remains of Malta compared to our little church! What is all the rubbish of the past compared to the hopes of the future! I am a man of one idea—Borneo; everything else in life is a little snuff which tickles my nostrils; or a little sound, or a little sight, for amusement; but I am not in earnest in anything else. I care not for Ministerial crises saving as they touch on Borneon prospects. I hope you are all happy, and have a little society, and are gay—for I don't like solemn people; and I hope Mrs. McDougall continues strong and well. How does our school progress? That is my delight, and I often think of the 'Good night, sir,' which greeted me in my evening drives. What is Mr. Chambers doing? I hope you will send him to Sakarran—he will be a great support to Brereton."

Another letter, also written at this time, is to an old schoolfellow, the Rev. W. Wyatt; part of it has been already given in the first chapter, as it referred to the life at Norwich. "I should have been sorry indeed had you forgotten our younger days, and addressed me in any other fashion than as an old schoolfellow. Mr. Chambers brought me your letter, and I did what I could to be useful to him, and I doubt not his life will be a cheerful and happy one, for we are a contented community, though a small one, and the trials of the life look far more formidable at a distance than they are in reality. . . . I hope to be at the next Valpeian dinner, and at any rate to meet you there, if not before. I entertain a warm feeling towards our old school and to my old schoolfellows, and indeed cannot feel like a stranger towards them. I really believe that our association and the warmth of our feeling towards the school has done something to rouse the authorities towards attempting a restoration. Do you remember John Longe? I was staying with him when I was at Norwich, and I assure you the sight of the place and the sound of the organ in the cathedral shook my nerves by recalling the past.

"I will tell you all about myself when we meet; my career

has indeed been an active and remarkable one, and even now I know not where it is leading me, for it is very difficult to stop at any given point, and it would be a pity to stop whilst one can do any real good. I beg you, however, not to believe that I am a thorough-going canting philanthropist, or that I have any merit in making a great sacrifice to attain great ends. It is not so, for all along I have only followed the impulses of a nature not wanting in generosity, and tried to regulate them by the dictates of a head not wanting in judgment. As for those who abuse me, it is a matter of little consequence if limited to that, but it would become detrimental if their clamour affected the native mind, and led the worst portion of the community to look up to them as friends."

Rose Cottage not being vacant, Mrs. Templer was asked to look out in her walks for "some nice, damp, dreary-looking abode, away from the haunts of men; for I hate living in a row, and I like a little garden."

From Malta Brooke visited Sicily, in pleasant company, and on his return to Malta, in April, received information that Labuan was threatened by the Sulus—the newly settled native population in terror, and no English vessel at hand. "The exertions of the navy have been damped, and obstacles thrown in our way. The pirates are daily gaining strength and courage while I am employed answering my calumniators. Parsimony has led to the danger of the island, and if taken by the pirate force let the nation thank these her *patriots*. If the English flag be insulted, who is to blame?"

By the same mail, apparently, that brought these tidings, there arrived also an address to the Raja, from Java, signed by all the English firms there, by some Dutch and one Chinese—an address of a different and more flattering character than that on which Mr. Woods was employing his energies.

On May 6th the Raja reached England. Many thoughts occupied his mind.

I.—Would the Government place him in a less anomalous

position? The *de facto* ruler over five hundred miles of Borneon coast was nominally a Consul-General.

II.—Would they back him in carrying the principles of the Government of Saráwak into other places ready and anxious for it?

III.—Would they act consistently and strictly against the pirates of the Archipelago?

"I am afraid I was hard upon the Ministers," he sums up with; "they have always been very kind and very considerate to me; but in the effort merely to hold their own in England, they allow the extremities of the empire to get cold. In the East, especially in the Hindu-Chinese nations and China, we ought to do everything or nothing; and the outcry, on the score of humanity, roared forth by Cobden and Sturge, is humanity to vicious governments, but not to the mass of the people. The more experience I gain, the more I despise half-and-half measures. In private life it leads to the ruin of those who pursue this course, and it is no better in public affairs. We can retrograde or we can advance, but we cannot stand still any more than the globe. Stillness is the type of death—motion, of life; and, whether in the moral or physical world, we can no more remain stationary than we can remain asleep all our lives."

On reaching England he found it necessary to remain at first in London, and consoled himself with the Great Exhibition, just opened, and "so wonderful and so beautiful that everybody ought to see it;" and by the hope of a family gathering, to be accomplished later in the summer in some quiet country place. The juniors at Lackington Vicarage seem to have had forebodings of dulness, and persuaded Mrs. Johnson to suggest Lyme Regis as being sufficiently out of the world.

"There is a little misunderstanding of terms between us," Brooke wrote in reply. "The truth is, that what I call quiet the girls will call gay. Your seaside plan will suit me excellently. The Dorsetshire downs are very agreeable, and we will dip in the sea, and go fishing till we are all sea-sick, and have

picnics till we are all sick of roast goose and pigeon pies, and we will walk in the sun till we get fevers, and sit in the shade till we catch our death of cold!

"If we can get a cottage and garden," was his next idea (July 1st), "it would be very snug. Would a little yacht amuse you, because I could have one for a couple of months. I am not myself so fond of the sea as of yore, but papa and Stuart might catch fish.

"I enjoy Hillingdon much, it is so quiet, and they are so kind as not to invite any stupid people, so we are at home. I shall leave this on the 4th, and until the 10th we shall be involved in the hateful discussions which give rise to hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness. After that, I have work to do officially till the 16th, and on the 17th, D.V. (as Charles writes), I hope to be with you."

Early in the session Mr. Hume had given notice of his intention to move again for a Royal Commission—

"To inquire into the proceedings of Sir James Brooke on the north-west coast of Borneo, since his appointment as her Majesty's Commissioner and Consul-General, especially into the attack of the Honourable East India Company's steamer *Nemesis*. And further, that her Majesty will graciously command that the opinion of her Majesty's judges be taken, and laid by her Majesty's Ministers before the House, touching the legality or otherwise of the holding by Sir James Brooke, at one and the same time, of the following apparently incompatible offices, viz.: Sovereign Ruler of Saráwak, he being a British subject; of her Majesty's Commissioner, he, Sir James Brooke, residing at Saráwak, where there is no independent chief; and also of the appointment of Governor of Labuan, distant three hundred miles from Saráwak, at which British settlement he has not been actually present more than a few months during the last three years."

On the 10th of July this motion was before the House of Commons, and, after a debate of seven hours, was rejected by a majority of 211, 18 voting with Mr. Hume.

It is only possible to give here such portions of the debate as touched the Raja most nearly.

Mr. Hume deprecated the subject having been made a question of squabbles between private individuals. It was a public question of great importance, affecting the character of this country. He was not, as had been asserted, the tool of any man. His attention had been first aroused by an extract from a Singapore paper,* appearing in the *Daily News* of June 25, 1849, which stated that in March and April the *Nemesis* steamer had joined a collection of prahus with Sir James Brooke, and attacked the Dyaks of Sarebus and Sakarran, and asked whether it was creditable to our naval forces to aid or take part in cruel butcheries and brutal murders of the helpless and defenceless.

Since the debate of the previous session he had received an address signed by fifty-three merchants and others of Singapore, which the House should hear.

[The address bore date "Singapore, January, 1851."† It testified the cordial approval of the memorialists of Mr. Hume's valuable and persevering exertions; and stated that not one of those who signed had ever heard the captain of a merchant vessel, or the nakoda of a trading prahu, mention his having, at any time, seen a Dyak pirate. The memorial continued—"Whatever language may have been employed to describe the depredations of the Dyaks of Sarebus and Sakarran, it is impossible, with the facts we have before us, that we can consider the continuance of the same destructive measures that have been pursued against them as 'consonant with humanity, with the interests of commerce, and the maintenance of our national position in the Archipelago.'‡ We think, on the contrary, that these measures are much to be lamented, and that a more humane and considerate policy will better tend to the promotion of the true interests of trade.

* *The Straits Times.* Mr. Woods' account, before alluded to.

† The address is that mentioned on p. 39.

‡ The quotation is from a despatch, from Sir James Brooke to Lord Palmerston, of February 2, 1849.

"The pacification of the north-west coast of Borneo 'so long disturbed by intestine wars and other disorders arising from the absence of any regular government, and where lawless violence of the most flagrant kind has been daily exercised by the rulers and chiefs, is certainly an object to be greatly desired' for the sake of common humanity and for the advancement of British commerce.

"But we are of opinion that the course of policy to be pursued for the attainment of that desirable end will be best ascertained by means of that inquiry which it is your object to institute."

The memorialists would not undertake to say that the Dyaks slaughtered on the 31st of July were not pirates; "but we confidently affirm our opinion that the evidence of their being pirates is the very opposite of being satisfactory.

"We conclude these observations with the expression of an earnest hope that Parliament will see fit to accede to your motion for inquiry, without which there can be no issue of this question satisfactory to the public mind."]

In addition to this address, Mr. Hume had received a letter from a Mr. William Henry Miles, whom he described as a gentleman resident seven years in Singapore, and two and a half in Labuan, and this he would also read out.

[It stated that there could be only one opinion about the late massacre, formed by anybody acquainted with Sir James Brooke—that it was to murder the Dyaks into subjection to the Saráwak Government. Further, that Sir James Brooke was very much opposed to any Europeans settling on the coast of Borneo, as was shown by his treatment of a Mr. Burns, and that Europeans were not allowed to visit or reside in Saráwak.]

Mr. Hume continued by stating that inquiry was due to Sir James Brooke, whose character, with such charges against it, would otherwise be blasted. Let Commissioners be sent out to take evidence, and the country be freed from the stigma that rested on it. Sir James Brooke had observed that there was no question of the existence of piracy or of the necessity

for its suppression. No doubt of that—the Dutch and the Spanish had been employed praiseworthily in attacking and destroying the real pirates, the Illanuns and Sulus. Did Sir James Brooke ever attack the real pirates? No, he attacked none but the poor Dyaks. "I have been invited to appear in Saráwak. What business have I there? If I were to go there I should expect—I won't say what."

"Mr. William Henry Miles," remarked Mr. Drummond, "is a gentleman who follows the occupation of a butcher, to which he unites the more honourable profession of a boxer. It so happened that, owing to a little misfortune, he went abroad at the Queen's expense. Lord Bacon said there were two ways of making a man wise—by books and by travel. It had been Mr. Miles's fortune to profit by the latter. He (Mr. Drummond) declared that this man Miles could neither have written nor spelt the letter read out by Mr. Hume, which must be a forgery."

Mr. Headlam pointed out the compound nature of the inquiry proposed. As a lawyer, he could say that it was not usual in England to combine a question of policy with an indictment for murder, and so only could he call the motion. He, also, had a letter that he would read to the House; it was from Dr. Wilson, the Bishop of Calcutta, and was addressed to the Rev. C. D. Brereton, Hon. Secretary to the Borneo Church Mission.

[This letter was dated, *Semiramis*, War Steamer, Saráwak to Singapore, January 24, 1851. The Bishop had been to Saráwak to consecrate the first church, and words seemed poor to express his enthusiasm as he thought of the country he had just visited. "It is my full persuasion that there is no mission on the face of the earth to be compared to that of Borneo." It had been "thrown open to Christian enterprise almost by a miracle," and he who had done this thing was now recognized as the ruler of a people to whom he was devoting "his time, his fortune, his zeal, his health, his body and soul."]

"There is nothing to show," said Mr. Cobden, "that Sir

James Brooke has been engaged in putting down piracy for the sake of British commerce, but, on the contrary, that he was engaged in war with his neighbours for the purpose of becoming possessed of their land."

Colonel Thompson said he did not believe in the existence of Dyak pirates in Borneo. "Who likes may enact St. George, but I don't believe in the Dragon."

Mr. Gladstone separated the character and position of the Raja from the question of piracy and its suppression. Into the latter he considered inquiry should be made, but "in the personal feeling of hostility to the character of Sir James Brooke I do not share. I look on him with great respect as a man of an energy truly British; and I believe that in his heart and intentions, however liable he may be to errors of judgment, he is a man of philanthropy truly Christian. . . . . I cannot think an address to the Crown would be expedient, either upon general principles, or altogether just to Sir James Brooke."

Lord Palmerston said he had never heard a debate in which the arguments were so entirely on one side, and he could not but suspect that Mr. Hume himself did not feel so confident of his position as in the previous session. He (Lord Palmerston) had received a despatch from the Consul at Manilla, stating that, in consequence of the recent operations of our ships of war, joined to those of Holland and Spain, trade was becoming secure, and piracy was at least checked. Lord Palmerston's concluding words were—"Well, then, I say the whole accusations fall to the ground; there is really nothing to inquire into, unless it be an inquiry—which I do not wish to pursue—into what could have been the source whence the various and persevering and malignant persecutions proceeded. I do not apply that word to any course which has been taken in this House, but I must denounce these charges as malignant and persevering persecutions of an innocent man. Sir, I am convinced that this House will, by an overwhelming majority, negative the motion of my honourable friend, and by so doing they will proclaim to the world

that Sir James Brooke retires from this investigation with an untarnished character, and with unblemished honour. And I am persuaded that he will continue to enjoy the esteem of his countrymen as a man who, by braving difficulties, by facing dangers in distant climates, and in previously unknown lands, has done much to promote the commercial interests of his country, and to diffuse the light of civilization in regions which have been before in the darkness of barbarism."

It will be remembered that in 1844, the pirates being out in force, Brooke had found himself obliged to wait for Captain Keppel and the *Dido*, because Captain Hastings, in whose vessel he had returned from Singapore, felt himself unable to take action. The robber band was gathered together and might have been destroyed before mischief was done; and as, after Captain Hastings' departure, tales of pillage grew rife, Brooke groaned over it, and through entries in his Journal, as well as in letters, expressed sore regret that such an opportunity should have been lost. By the publication of his Journal all this had become known, that part not having been omitted but added to by a letter to Captain Keppel on the subject, also published; and popular feeling sympathized with Brooke, and blamed Captain Hastings. Such being the case, in February, 1851, Mr. Hume wrote to Captain Hastings that he intended to bring before the House "the conduct of Sir James Brooke on the occasion of the massacre of the Dyaks on July 31, 1849," and as Captain Hastings' conduct had been publicly reflected on he hoped he would not object to state the circumstances that had induced him to refuse compliance with Sir James Brooke's request.

A short reply from Captain Hastings, stating that he had at the time reported his reasons to the Admiralty, was returned to Mr. Hume; while, to the Raja he wrote in a tone so manly and so generous, that his letter must be given here.

"Union Club, May 12, 1851.

"DEAR SIR JAMES BROOKE,—I hardly know how you will receive a letter from me, but at any rate I venture to write, as I think it due to you, hearing you have just arrived in this country, to send for your perusal a note I received from Mr. Hume, upon the subject of his intended motion in the House of Commons.

"The enclosures which he alludes to were copies of your letters to Mr. Wise, and the late Sir Robert Peel's observation on the subject of my refusing you assistance in the year 1844, which, by the bye, did me some harm in the Admiralty, as well as showing me up in Keppel's and Mundy's books; but of that I have long ceased to think, and only remember the many acts of kindness and friendship which I received from you in the East.

"I refused any information to Mr. Hume; but if I can be of the smallest service to you, in giving any assistance to avert the cruel and unjust persecution which some evil-disposed persons are waging against you, I beg you will command the services of, my dear Sir James Brooke,

"Yours faithfully,

"Sir James Brooke, K.C.B." "GEO. HASTINGS.

"How should I receive a letter, and so generous a letter, excepting with the liveliest pleasure?" the Raja replied; and, in allusion to the publication, "I was irritated and harassed by circumstances, and if anything I said—foolishly made public—caused you pain, I am sincerely sorry for it, and you have truly heaped coals of fire upon my head."

The family gathering at Lyme Regis was prevented by the uncertainty of the Raja's movements. The old and obstructive King of Siam had died, and the British Government were disposed to send Sir James Brooke again to that Court to make friends with his successor, the brother before spoken of.

"It is of such importance," the Raja wrote in allusion to this, "in a public point of view, that there ought to be no

private regrets, and I shall stipulate for my return when the mission is accomplished. I do not think it is ungrateful to Old England, but my heart throbs with delight at the prospect of seeing them again in the East; the unpleasant passage is lost sight of; and thus the ills of life should be forgotten in the prospect of arriving at a better."

He undertook to leave England in October, and the necessary vessels were under orders to convey him, when fresh accounts from Siam, received in September, showed that nothing would be gained by haste, for until the prolonged funeral obsequies were performed, a new king could not attend to other matters.

August was spent at Lackington, and October in Scotland. He seems to have been in good health and spirits, and his peace was not disturbed by a speech of Mr. Cobden at Birmingham, reported in the *Times* of November 29, 1851.

"There is another thing," Mr. Cobden said, "I wish to draw your attention to, because it is at these meetings that we ought to endeavour to raise public opinion in impending dangers. I allude to the policy which this country is pursuing in the East. (Cheers.) You heard last year a good deal about a motion of Mr. Hume to inquire into the conduct of Sir James Brooke, who had gone out to the Eastern Archipelago as a private adventurer, had seized upon a territory as large as Yorkshire, and then drove out the natives; and who, under the pretence that they were pirates, had subsequently sent for our fleet and men to massacre them. (Cheers.) . . . If they allowed any more murderous executions to be carried on in the East—in Borneo, Siam, Japan, or elsewhere—it would end the same way—in increased cost. . . . Yes, and let him tell them another fact, and it was this—that the atrocities perpetrated by Sir James Brooke in Borneo had been continually quoted in the Austrian newspapers as something which threw into the shade the horrible atrocities of Haynau himself."

Mr. Hume meanwhile carried on his attack through the press, calling forth some vigorous rejoinders from the Raja;

and in March, 1852, moved in the House for copies of a correspondence between Lord Palmerston and a Mr. Burns. The latter wished to settle in Borneo and trade, but "obstructions and discouragements" had been put in his way by Sir James Brooke.*

On this occasion Mr. Henry Drummond declared it too bad that an honourable gentleman, esteemed—as he believed deservedly—by his friends as a man of benevolence and kindness, should be possessed of such a monomania as to take a delight in blackening in that House the character of one of the most valuable servants whom the country had ever possessed.

"The honourable member (Mr. Hume) has written me a private letter, begging me to take the earliest opportunity of making an *amende* to Mr. William Henry Miles. My only apology shall be a stronger assertion that the man is a runaway convict, and perfectly worthless.

"The honourable member has not clean hands with respect to this man Miles, for he has published in the papers read in this House a letter from Miles, which I had shown to be a forgery from the handwriting of that gentleman—a gentleman I will not call him—of that man, and that he could neither

* "The fifth charge urged by Mr. Hume rests on a complaint made by Mr. Burns, of my having impeded his trading operations in the Bintulu River. Mr. Nicol (a partner in the firm of Messrs. Hamilton, Gray, & Co.), the employer of Mr. Burns, has stated that 'as the speculation was a mere delusion, he made up his mind to have nothing more to do with it,' and 'he emphatically denied that I ever, to his knowledge, evinced the least jealousy of the undertaking, or attempted to thwart it; but, on the contrary, that I was willing to promote it as far as lay in my power.' . . . Mr. Burns stated, in a letter to Lord Palmerston, June, 28, 1851, 'that during my absence in England, a letter had been sent from Saráwak, *menacing the chiefs of Bintulu, should they permit a white man to reside in their country.*' This letter Mr. Burns stated that he *heard read* early in the year 1848, although no complaint was made until June 1851. So important was this letter considered, that a sum of eighty pounds was offered for a copy by Mr. Motley, the superintendent of the Eastern Archipelago Company, and Mr. Burns subsequently offered money for it. Whether they succeeded in obtaining the information which they sought must continue a matter of doubt, but the truth of Mr. Burns's statement may now be judged by the copy of the letter which has been forwarded from Saráwak."—*Letter from Sir James Brooke to Henry Drummond, Esq., M.P.*

write nor spell. Nevertheless, that false testimony the honourable member made use of, and he has never explained to Sir James Brooke or to the House why he has brought it forward."

[Mr. Drummond then read an affidavit from Henry Adams, of the Western Australian police force, dated Perth, W.A., October 10, 1851, which stated that W. H. Miles's real name was Peter Loyd, that he had been imprisoned for various thefts, was a very bad character and well known to the police.]

"It is upon the authority of this man that the honourable member brings forward his charges against Sir James Brooke, and it is this man that I am called upon, on the authority of a respectable London merchant, to do justice to. The respectable London merchant stands godfather to Peter Loyd, a partner in his veracity and respectability. Will the honourable member be so good as to tell the House who this respectable English merchant is? Respectable! yes; perhaps he kept a gig!"

Mr. Hume, in reply, said that he did not believe a word of the affidavit. Did Mr. Drummond know that Mr. Miles had brought an action against Sir James Brooke at Singapore? He would not give up the name of the London merchant. Mr. Miles's letter was not altogether correctly spelt.

"As to Sir James Brooke, his conduct has continued as monstrous as it began. Before any satisfaction had been made for his previous excesses, Sir James Brooke, on the 31st of July, had had an ambush laid for four thousand persons, whom, in order to create a pretext for plundering, he chose to call pirates, whereas they were not pirates nor anything of the sort—they were Dyaks. If there are any pirates they are Malays. Of those four thousand people, five hundred were barbarously slaughtered, and fifteen hundred more or less injured. For the massacre and injury of these poor people the Government has had to pay £20,700, yet no inquiry is to be granted into this barbarous and disgraceful outrage."

Here the House was counted out. Further information confirmed the statement that Miles was identical with Peter Sidd, of Western Australia. The name in Adams's affidavit was difficult to decipher; in the copy given to Mr. Drummond Sidd had been written Soyd, and was read by him as Loyd. The letter to Mr. Hume, whether written for the man, or forged, or genuine, stands for what it is worth.

In April, 1852, an advertisement appeared in the newspapers :—

"In order to mark the sense entertained by the mercantile and shipping body, as well as by other members of the community, of the eminent services rendered by Sir James Brooke to the interests of commerce and humanity, in his endeavours to put down the evils of piracy in the Eastern Archipelago, and in his labours to advance the interests of civilization in that part of this world—a public dinner will be given to that gentleman at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate Street, on Friday, April 30th; Robert Wigram Crawford, Esq., in the chair."

After which came the names of one hundred and twenty-four gentleman as stewards.

Two hundred met at this dinner—Members of Parliament, Governors of the Bank of England, East India Company directors, officers of the army and navy, barristers, clergymen, as well as merchants and others.

The burden of the speeches was naturally sympathy with the Raja. Perhaps the highest ground was taken by Baron Alderson :—

"I am sorry to say that in one respect I differ from Sir James Brooke and the Chairman, in that they expressed something of regret that our distinguished guest had not the approbation of all mankind. I do not think Sir James Brooke would deserve it if he had it; for I have always observed—and I believe history will confirm me—that the greatest benefactors of the human race have been most abused in their own time, and I therefore think Sir James Brooke ought to be congratulated *because* he is abused. I look to the future

and not to the present, because I look to the time when he will come out as the sun from behind the clouds. When this takes place, his calumniators and detractors will be obscured in the oblivion of their own insignificance. Then will come the time when full justice will be done him. I cannot hold out any hope to him that this will occur in his lifetime or mine. I cannot promise to him universal approbation, because that does not generally accompany desert; but I think I can promise him the approbation of his own conscience, the approbation of all good and reasonable men, and of Almighty God, who does justice and who will reward."

Among those who heard the Raja himself speak were some who had marked his whole career with a keen personal interest, and to these it was a pure delight to watch him show to others something of the power that was in him. Apart from tone, and look, and manner, here is a portion of the speech:—

"I will not pretend, gentlemen, to that species of pride which apes humility; I will not humble myself that you may exalt me. I will not say that I am utterly unworthy of your regard; but I will venture to tell you something of my own feelings, and something of the position I hold in the East. Your approval of my conduct is no light condemnation of the conduct of those who have sought by every means, fair and unfair, to blast my reputation, even at the risk of injuring their own; who, under the pretence of humanity, have screened their injustice, and, on the plea of inquiry, have been unscrupulous enough to charge murder. It is now but little more than four years since I was the idol of a spurious popularity; it is more than three years that I have been the object, but happily not the victim, of an unprecedented persecution; and it will afford me no light satisfaction if this night a fair and moderate estimate can be formed of my motives and of my conduct. Praise and blame have been lavished upon me with no sparing hand. I have been accused of every crime from murder to merchandise. I have been held up as a prodigy of perfection, and I have been cast down as a monster

of iniquity. These, gentlemen, are the extremes which human folly delights in; these are the distortions which the tribunes of the people represent as Bible truths to the multitude; these the delusions which a hackneyed politician uses lightly, to wound feelings he has long outlived, and to cast a slur upon her Majesty's servants. The evil, I fear, is inevitable; but it is no less an evil, that public morals, in such hands, should sink like water to its lowest and its dirtiest level; and, Mr. Chairman, you will always find some sapient senator, when he has infringed upon public principle, and when he has trampled upon private feeling—you will always find one who will tell you that it is his duty as a member of Parliament to act as a scavenger to the vices of other men.

"There are principles of justice supposed to be implanted in the human heart, and which are certainly acknowledged by the virtuous of all nations. It is a principle of justice, that an accusation of crime shall not be disposed of by one competent tribunal and again and again preferred year after year." It is a principle of justice that suspicion is no proof of truth, that ignorance is no ground of inquiry, and it is a principle of justice that trivial offences shall not be mixed up in the category of deadly crimes. It is a principle of justice that trial shall precede condemnation; and it is a commandment of God, as well as a principle of justice, that 'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.'

"These, gentlemen, are the eternal principles upon which the foundation of society rests, and to violate them is to injure society; and yet, if you will weigh what has passed with those principles, and try them by their balance, you will find that there is one member of the House of Commons who has not only abused his privilege as a member of Parliament, but who has made unto himself a new law. There are principles more important than the welfare of nations, and there are plain rules for the guidance of mankind; but we all know that men's passions and men's moral obliquity cause a departure from these grand truths. There is a duty which teaches one man to filch his neighbour's purse—there is a duty which teaches

another man to steal his neighbour's good name; but, until this new code of morals be established, I shall continue to call things by their right names—I shall call persecution, persecution; and the persecution which has pursued me has been as dogged and as fierce as though it had been caused by religious hatred; it has overleaped the barriers of testimony, defied the voice of reason, till honest men loathe the injustice done, and you, gentlemen, have marked your sense of principles violated, and of feelings outraged. Had I said less I should not have conveyed what I wish to express. I feel that those principles cannot be lightly violated; but for those personally, who have honoured me by their suspicions, I wish to dismiss them from my thoughts with the charitable contempt I feel. If I have suffered—and I do not deny that I have suffered from the machinations of my enemies—my sufferings have been more than balanced by the devotion of my friends, by your kindness, and by the justice rendered me by my countrymen at large, and I think I may say, by my countrywomen also.

"Gentlemen, I am proud to avow that the position I hold in the East has enabled me to introduce social and political improvements amongst the natives, and this will lead in the fulness of time to great commercial development. I am proud to say that I possess some power; that power however has been conferred upon me by the fountain-head of all power, and it may be resumed whenever it is misused.

"I will respond to what the Chairman has said, by declaring that I do possess an influence over the native mind, and this influence, joined to power and knowledge, is the chief element of future success. But this influence would never have arisen had I been actuated by base motives of any kind; nor could it indeed survive a day that childlike confidence which is the fruit of a long experience.

"Whatever may be the course of our future policy, it should be worthy of a great nation, and it should not be dictated by the meddling parsimony which begrudges a small outlay to obtain great future advantages. The countries of the Archi-

pelago are the fairest and richest of the world. There are resources to employ British enterprise—there are outlets for English commerce; and it would be lamentable indeed if they were lost. We have something to do and some difficulties to overcome before we clutch these advantages. There is an imbecility which hopes to attain everything by doing nothing, and which weakens every executive power in every distant part of the empire. Borneo has not escaped this evil, but for this country she may yet preserve that commerce, and may develop it a hundredfold; but, unless England is awake to its importance, it will be closed against her enterprise. Others will wake though England may sleep. Short of this firm and consistent course of action, better would it be to withdraw from the enterprise than to continue it and to attempt what you will never carry out successfully. It is an injury to the natives to excite false hopes that are never to be realized. There is one page in history, and the history of this country, which tells us of a native people in the Archipelago betrayed by our carelessness, and British interests sacrificed to ignorance. One single record is sufficient on our annals, for I am convinced that the time has now arrived that England must maintain her position in these seas. She must suppress piracy—she must secure stepping-stones for her infant steam communication, which is to join her possessions in Australia to her possessions in China—she must develop her commerce. She must do this, or she must abandon a glorious enterprise to another, and, when that happens, I shall say, to a greater nation. The alternative is before us. I look forward myself with warm hope that the nobler alternative will be chosen; but I do not conceal that I am not unprepared to meet the meaner one.

"Gentlemen, I will now say that your confidence, which the Chairman has so well expressed, will cheer me in the path of public duty, or will solace me in the retirement of private life, in the deep solitude of a Borneon existence. I have only now, to implore you, not only in my own name alone, but in the name of those who, like myself, have suffered from the

license of men's tongues—I implore you not to believe what is said of an absent man unless it be proved. Pause long, consider well, before you give ear to a slander affecting a man of integrity. Do not disgrace your public servants by inquiries generated in the fogs of base suspicions; for, remember, a wrong done is like a wound received—the scar is ineffaceable. It may be covered by glittering decorations, but there it remains to the end."

Mr. Henry Wise and his brother Directors of the Eastern Archipelago Company found reason this summer to wish they had left Sir James Brooke alone. "Let us have a look at their charter," he said one day to Mr. Templer; "don't you think we might find a hole in their armour?" And a hole he discovered in the unfulfilled condition that £30,000 should be subscribed. "They have never subscribed £30,000—not £3,000!" he exclaimed. "I'll vacate their charter for them!" And the Company found itself before long in the Court of Queen's Bench with a charter vacated for breach of condition, a decision that was subsequently confirmed in the Exchequer Chamber by a majority of seven judges to one.

The Raja was the principal witness against the Company. He gave his evidence with great clearness and a marked quietness of manner, and they did not attempt to cross-examine him.

Mr. Sidney Herbert was not satisfied with the answer he had received to his question touching Sir James Brooke's mercantile transactions, and in June, on the occasion of the Labuan estimates coming before the House, he again brought forward the subject. The hour was too late to admit of more than a very brief reply, and the Raja took the matter into his own hands and wrote (June 22nd) to Mr. Sidney Herbert, asking him "in all courtesy, and as an act of justice," to state on what he based his assertion that he (the Raja) was engaged in "mercantile speculations;" then, very patiently, as though not weary, as he must needs have been of the oft-repeated charge—he goes into the whole matter of the Saráwak revenue, how derived and how administered, and

concludes with—"It must be with you, Sir, to show how a public revenue, realized as I have described, and applied to public purposes, can be termed a 'mercantile speculation' in which I am personally engaged."

In reply (June 24th) Mr. Sidney Herbert explained that the question he had raised was this—"Whether your engagements and interests at Saráwak are of a nature to justify your appointment as Governor of Labuan; and whether your selection for that office is conformable with the principles which are understood to regulate the choice of civil servants of the Crown in our colonial possessions? I must confess that your letter has by no means tended to satisfy me on that point. I understand that the occurrences in Borneo and Labuan will shortly be the subject of an investigation, in which the particular point to which I have referred would necessarily be included. Under these circumstances I am sure you will feel that I should not be justified in entering into any correspondence on the subject."

"It would have afforded me satisfaction," returned the Raja, "had you either denied the charge which you have not supported, or supported the charge which you have not denied. I am sorry that this point still continues in some degree of obscurity. The question which you acquaint me you raised in the House of Commons, was entirely different from the statement you are reported to have made; and as you appear averse either distinctly to affirm, or distinctly to deny, this statement, I will not press the subject further.

"Whether, as you state, my engagements and interests at Saráwak are of a nature to justify my appointment as Governor of Labuan, and whether my selection for that office be conformable with the principles which are understood to regulate the choice of civil servants of the Crown in our colonial possessions, I leave you, sir, and others whose duty it may be, to discuss and decide; but it is certain that the position I occupied was known previously to the year 1847, and since that year it has remained unchanged.

"In 1845, although cognizant of the circumstances, the

Government of the late Sir Robert Peel, of which you were a member, conferred upon me a public office. In 1848 her Majesty's late Ministers not only selected me for the appointment of Governor of Labuan, but they thanked me for the services I had rendered, and placed on record that my position at Saráwak was advantageous to the interests of this nation; and now, should her Majesty's present Government think fit to reverse the policy or the appointment of their predecessors, it may be done without difficulty, and without acrimonious feelings being excited on a public question.

"I hold my appointments for the public good, and only so long as I possess the confidence of the Queen's Government and of the country; and you may rest assured that, so long as I continue in office, I shall never shrink from the responsibilities of a stern duty, whether it be to punish a pirate or expose a fraud.

"I shall await with calmness the investigation which you inform me is about to take place. I was previously as ignorant of the fact as I still am—though a party somewhat interested—of its nature and object; but I shall offer no objection to it should it be consistent with the principles of justice and the dictates of honour; but you must permit me to add that the revival year after year, under unaltered circumstances, of the same charges, is as little in accordance with right principle as it is with the English character."

In a second letter (Wilton House, July 1st) Mr. Sidney Herbert wrote—"I wish that there should be no misunderstanding as to the observations made by me in the House of Commons. I have stated in my previous letter what was the question which I raised as to your position in Borneo. In raising that question, I stated that the perusal of public documents left an impression on my mind that you were engaged in trading at Saráwak, and I appealed to the Government to institute an inquiry into the matter, as such an engagement on your part could not be otherwise than prejudicial to the interests of the Crown at Labuan. Your letters to me have strengthened this impression. I beg, therefore, to decline any

further controversy on a matter which will again be a subject of discussion in Parliament, and where it will be my duty to show the grounds on which my opinion rests."

"I must remind you," Brooke wrote in answer, "that when stopped by Sir John Pakington you were supporting your allegations from a private paper, and not from a public document. . . . The question has been repeatedly discussed during the last three years; and having been before one Committee of the late House of Commons, it appears from your letters that it is again to be discussed and referred anew to a committee of the Parliament not yet elected. The Parliament will doubtless require at your hands such grounds in support of your opinion as will warrant a new inquiry, and clearly mark the distinction between justice and persecution."

On the 1st of July Parliament was dissolved, and the country entered upon the business of a general election.

"After the elections, I shall seek a final explanation with the Government," the Raja wrote, July 3rd. "If I possess their confidence, and an efficient course of action promising good results is entered on, I will continue in the public service; if not, I shall seek that repose and that independence which I prize above ambition, and above silver and gold."

"*August* 14*th*.—I have had several interviews with Ministers, but as yet there has been no result. They were all very polite, I may say kind, and appear to enter into my views; but the groundwork of my position was, that they might avail themselves of my services if they chose; and if not, that I would be obliged to them to make up their minds, and let me take an independent course. If employed, I insisted on confidence and efficiency—reality and not pretence—and a remedy for the anomalous position in which I was placed by being Consul-General, with plenipotentiary powers, etc., etc. They will soon give me an answer, and I will let you [Mr. Coxe] know what it is. At the same time I offered, for the good of the public service, and to set the question at rest, to submit to

a Committee of the House of Commons. This Ministers will likewise consider."

While Ministers were considering, Brooke went to Scotland, accompanied by Mr. Templer, whose five children were besought by the Raja each to "take a basin of gruel, and go quietly to bed for a whole month, and be quiet until mamma comes back." But this "nice plan" not finding favour, the mother stayed at home.

The appointment of Consul-General had never appeared to the Raja compatible with his position in Saráwak, and he continued to hold it only because the higher office of Governor of Labuan was added. He was much pleased, therefore, and cheered by finding in the autumn that the Government was meditating the creation of a diplomatic appointment that would give him substantial power in the Eastern Archipelago. This is referred to in a letter to his friend, Mr. W. H. Read, of Singapore, written from Manchester on his return from Scotland.

"*October* 20, 1852.—I write to thank you for your kind letter, and to tell you that affairs here go on flourishingly and quite to my satisfaction. I am anxious to return, but Government is a ponderous machine, and I must wait its pleasure, and am working hard to place our policy in the Archipelago upon such a basis as to prevent any future obstruction arising from the malice or spleen of individuals; this I believe I shall effect, even so far as regards the suppression of piracy. You are quite safe to win your bet upon my coming out again in the public service. Wise's petty malice goes for little, but I suppose it is pleasing to him and those with whom he corresponds to hope for my ruin, which they have failed to effect. I should be sorry indeed to feel like them, but if they will lose bets it is your business to win them, and my pleasure to hear of it. The truth is, that there has never been a misunderstanding between the Government, past or present, and myself, and the only consideration has been the best mode of carrying out our measures in future. I want to change the naval arrangements, and to put —— in command of a permanent squadron

of supervision, consisting of small steamers, and leaving the heavy work as it may arise for the Admiral, with such a force as would overwhelm resistance and prevent it. This is a secret, and my own position too, but it will be political, and more pleasing to me than any former one."

But Retrenchment was the cry of the hour; and on November 9th Sir John Pakington wrote to inform the Raja that the civil establishment at Labuan was to be reduced, and that, on the score of economy alone, and without any forgetfulness of his past services, he would be relieved from his office of Governor from the end of the year.

"I have been much troubled," the Raja writes (December 27th), "by the ceaseless fluctuations of the political world, which reflect their uncertainty on me. I am now all abroad as to my future course; but I day by day gain the experience required, and learn how little dependence can be placed on the English Government or on English politics. I shall not, therefore, regret parting company on my own account, or on account of Saráwak, but at seeing a rational and noble policy thrown away amid the contentions of faction and popular institutions."

What might have been the ultimate intention of the Conservative Government did not appear, for in December they were out of office, and the newspapers of January 1, 1853, contained the names of the Coalition Ministry that came in under Lord Aberdeen.

CHAPTER XXI.

1853.

A CERTAIN document purporting to be a complaint on the part of the Sultan of Bruné of Sir James Brooke had reached Mr. Hume, and been brought by him to Lord Derby's notice early in 1852. It proved to be the combined work of two Englishmen, one of whom, the Mr. Burns before mentioned, having done his part, had left Bruné on a trading expedition and been killed by pirates in Malludu Bay. Among his effects recovered were a few pages from his journal, which came at length into the Raja's hands, and led to his writing to Bruné on the subject of the memorial. In October, 1852, the reply to this letter had arrived. The old Sultan was dead, but Pangeran Mumim and all the Bruné princes disowned the document* as a fabrication, got up for the purpose of injuring the Raja, and got up by Englishmen who had in vain tried to persuade them to complain to the Queen of England against him.

No reply, explanation, or information appeared to affect Mr. Hume, who continued his attacks after the change of Ministry as before, and Brooke made allowance for him on account of the "pertinacity of will" which seemed to him more the misfortune than the fault of advanced age. "I bear him no ill-will," he said, "and as all that he has said

* It does not necessarily follow that the Sultan, Omar Ali, was not implicated. His character and semi-imbecility have been shown. Subsequent events proved beyond all doubt that the letter from Pangeran Mumim, who succeeded as Sultan, expressed the deliberate mind of the Bruné Government.

or done has never influenced my past conduct, so all that he may say or may do will not affect my future course. At the extreme verge of man's life he may feel the bitterness of vain strife, and wake to the sense that in striving to injure me he has injured the natives of Borneo."

Letters condemnatory of Sir James Brooke were addressed by Mr. Hume to the various heads of departments under Government, and then moved for by himself in the House.

As a rule no opposition was offered, and, without apparent examination of what the letters might contain, libel after libel was printed at the public cost. His next step was to circulate, privately, a pamphlet summing up all his charges, a copy of which coming into the Raja's hands, he took counsels' opinion on the propriety of a prosecution for libel, with the following result:—

"We are of opinion that Sir James Brooke ought not to take legal proceedings against Mr. Hume for the libellous matter contained in the pamphlet laid before us.

"The charges contained in that pamphlet are only repetitions of others long since made and fully answered.

"We cannot advise Sir James Brooke to embark in an enormously expensive litigation for the purpose of repelling imputations which no one but the writer of the pamphlet is likely to believe.

"(Signed) FRED. THESIGER,
HUGH HILL,
JAS. S. WILLES."

The Raja did not therefore prosecute, but, in four letters addressed to Mr. Drummond, which were published, he met each charge, in the hope, as he said, that "present labour might tend to future ease." Of these letters, one has been already quoted. The last concludes with—"The peace, the progress, the prosperity of Saráwak, are the best assurances of what may be done on that coast by a just maintenance of power combined with a kindly influence over the native mind.

I have desired to reconcile the progress of good government among the natives with the advancement of the commerce of England. I still desire to serve my country with honour to myself and usefulness to her, and it is only when this can no longer be done that I shall assert the independence I feel, and which I prize above all other earthly distinctions. . . . It is with pleasure, mixed, indeed, with some regret, that I shall leave this country [England]; whether in public or private life I can find a home where I am respected and beloved; and whatever may be the course of events, whatever the progress of time may bring me of evil or of good, I can calmly appeal from the present to the future, and from the judgment of man to the justice of his Maker."

The new Cabinet, of which Lord Aberdeen was the head, was composed almost entirely of men who had held office under Sir Robert Peel, from 1841 to 1846, or Lord John Russell, from 1846 to 1852. These were the years of Sir James Brooke's work in Borneo. He became Raja of Saráwak in 1841, since which date he had kept the Government, indirectly and directly, informed of all his proceedings and of the condition of the Eastern Archipelago. Sir Edward Belcher, and subsequently Captain Bethune, were sent out in consequence, the Royal Navy was ordered to take its share in this new work, and its officers were promoted after every engagement. At first cautiously, afterwards with decreasing caution, and in 1847 with such enthusiasm as governments may show, they had listened, inspected, and encouraged.

Hence, though the change of Administration was disappointing to the Raja, because taking place at a time when a position that might have satisfied his greatest hopes seemed offering, there was nothing to lead him to anticipate a reversal of previous policy. The only difference lay in the influence of the Free Trade party, the full power of which had yet to be experienced.

In a personal interview with Lord John Russell, who had taken office as Secretary for Foreign Affairs (succeeded almost immediately by the Earl of Clarendon), the Raja expressed, as

he had previously expressed to Lord Malmesbury, his wish to be free of the anomaly of his appointments, and in a semi-official letter repeated this desire, or rather intention. He was then on the eve of return to Saráwak.

A letter to Mr. John Longe was also written in the turmoil of preparation for this departure.

"*Lackington, March* 24, 1853.—I thank you for the suggestion about the Valpeian prize. I have been keeping it in mind since Dr. Vincent hinted it to me, and I should like to carry it out much, but for several reasons I wish to delay the consideration of the subject. 1. I am poor at present, and hampered with two lawsuits and a political persecution, which run away with a lot of money. 2. Such a thing, if done, should be done really well, and we might aim higher than a few books, or such small game. 3. I am so pressed with business that I have no leisure to attend to anything. Now, by getting back to Saráwak quietly I can give more attention to the matter, and in all human probability my affairs will mend. I recommend, therefore, that Dr. Vincent should not decide on any definite plan on a small scale, but that we contribute on the understanding that we will do more, if we can, at a future time; and thus the smaller object may be ensured, at any rate, and we may develop the larger one. A scholarship of £25 to £60 a year would be worth all the small prizes, and would be honourable to the school, past and present—be a just tribute to our respected old master, and would advantage the school and the boys. This would be worth waiting for, even to the death of the present *old boys*, and many—the subject being mooted—would leave legacies where they could not give funds. Do you think it worth while to do this? As a beginning I would send you a cheque for £20, little enough, but as much as such a poor devil as I can spare. I shall not see you again during my present stay in England, for on the 4th of next month I depart this English life, leaving Southampton in the good steamer *Bengal*. I am all at sixes and sevens with our Government, being far too resolute to

suit them, whilst they are too expedient to suit me. My way, however, is very clear. I care nothing for Governments, nor for anything they can give me; and I have a well-defined sphere of duty which I must perform to the best of my ability, and if I fail the fault is not mine. Say all that is kind to our old schoolfellows at the annual meetings, and believe me your sincere friend and schoolfellow—J. Brooke."

On the 15th March, Lord John Russell, in reply to a question from Mr. Hume, had said that the Government did not intend to institute any inquiry previous to Sir James Brooke's departure, an announcement received with most significant cheers from both sides of the House. But ten days before the Raja was to sail, the almost incredible information that an inquiry was all the time determined on, reached him through a private channel; and on March 30th he received the following letter from Lord Wodehouse:—

"I am directed by the Earl of Clarendon to inform you that her Majesty's Government consider it expedient that, after your return to Borneo, an inquiry should be instituted, under direction of the Governor-General of India, into the functions you discharge, your relations with the native chiefs, and generally your position in that island; and Lord Clarendon trusts that, after the numerous discussions which have taken place, and the conflicting opinions which have been entertained upon these matters, such an inquiry, conducted by impartial persons, will prove satisfactory to all parties."

To this Brooke replied:—

"My Lord,—I have the honour to acknowledge your Lordship's communication of yesterday; and as I am to see the Earl of Clarendon, I shall be enabled to request from his Lordship some explanations on the nature and scope of the proposed inquiry. I have, etc."

The result of the interview which followed and of others is partly shown in a letter to Lord Clarendon, written from Southampton, April 4th:—

"My Lord,—I readily accede to the wish expressed by

her Majesty's Ministers to issue a Commission of Inquiry, for the purpose of investigating my position with the island of Borneo. I retain the appointments I hold in the public service because the Earl of Aberdeen considers it proper that I should do so. I place implicit confidence in the Marquis of Dalhousie (Governor-General of India), and entertain no doubt that he will select gentlemen and statesmen of enlarged minds and high principles to discharge the duty imposed upon them with credit to themselves and without dishonour to me. The magnitude of the interests involved renders it imperative that a clear and unmistakable understanding should be arrived at on the nature and scope of the proposed inquiry.

"I assume that it is the desire of her Majesty's Government, as it is my own intention, to make this inquiry fair, full, and complete. To issue a Commission empowered to collect evidence only within the British dominions, would not only render the inquiry nugatory, but would be a direct evasion of justice.

"It will be necessary, therefore, that the Commission should be extended to Saráwak, as the spot where the events to be inquired into occurred, and equally necessary that it should embrace Singapore and Labuan. Her Majesty's Government and myself entirely accord in opinion that the investigation should now proceed, and I do no more than place on record the propositions which I submitted from my memoranda, and which I understood were assented to by the Earl of Aberdeen and by your lordship.

"1st. That the Commission in Saráwak should be of a permissive character.

"2nd. That no infringement is to take place of the independence or rights of the Government or people of Saráwak, and that the Commissioners be instructed to respect those rights, and in no manner, whether by their acts or by their conduct, to derogate from the constituted authorities in that country. On my part, I promise every facility and protection to enable the Commissioners to discharge the duties entrusted to them. The objects of the inquiry, as stated in Lord Wode-

house's despatch, and as arranged on the basis of the memoranda submitted by me, are to be:—

"1st. The functions I discharge under her Majesty's Government.

"2nd. My relations with the native chiefs; *i.e.*, whether such relations are advantageous or injurious to this country; and—

"3rd. Whether my position generally in the island of Borneo is, or is not, for the advancement of the highest interests of mankind, and of the political and commercial importance of England in those seas.

"The formal duties of the Commission are, as I understand, to be limited to these important and practical subjects; and that the Commissioners are further to be empowered to take into consideration such other matters as I shall lay before them. I pledge myself to your lordship and to my country to submit to the Commission every charge of a public or derogatory nature which has ever been advanced against myself or the officers of the naval service; my conduct, my motives, my measures; the character of the native population; the question of piracy, of intertribal war; the acts of the Saráwak Government; the administration of justice and of revenue; the political relations, feelings, and condition of the various communities of the coast in relation to England, to Brunė, and to Saráwak; and any other topics which I can think of or which the Commissioners can suggest, shall be strictly investigated. I solemnly pledge myself to drag the whole truth into light, without reference to my own feelings or to the injuries which have been heaped upon me. I could not, were I so inclined, be made answerable for the mode in which the measures I recommended were carried into effect, but I willingly take upon myself the entire responsibility of those measures, whether in conception or execution; and should any defence of their conduct be needed, the officers of her Majesty's navy—with whom I am proud to have acted—will, I feel certain, entrust their honour to my keeping.

"Your lordship has assured me that it is not the desire of

her Majesty's Government to lower my position in the estimation of the native population, and I therefore request that a small steamer be placed at my disposal during the progress of the inquiry; as, heretofore, this has been the ordinary mode of communication with the different rivers on the coast, and will be indispensable to convey witnesses. As an act of justice, I further request the privilege of being present in person or by proxy during the investigation, the right of cross-examination, and of obtaining evidence necessary to establish the truth, without expense and without delay. When the inquiry shall have terminated, it will rest with her Majesty's Government consistently to establish a systematic course of measures, founded on enlarged and more accurate views of the national position and policy, or fairly to abandon the field, and thus to leave the natives to their own resources.

"I do not venture to express an opinion on the course pursued by her Majesty's Government; and, in conclusion, I have only to assure your lordship that under any circumstances I shall not forget the duty I owe to the people who have entrusted their Government to my hands, to my country, or to myself. It is with sorrow, unmixed with anger, that I leave the world to judge the services I have rendered and the treatment I have received.—J. Brooke."

Another letter earnestly entreated for some measure of protection to native traders until the future policy could be definitely settled, for his own hands would be tied pending the Commission of Inquiry, and the confidence engendered by past measures of the British Government become a cause of peril. "It would be indeed sad," he wrote, "if the Sarebus and Sakarrans should demonstrate their piratical character by shedding the blood of the inhabitants who repose on the faith of the measures pursued by this country. The Commission should now commence its duties without delay, in justice to the natives and to myself, so that life and property and trade be not perilled by uncertainty and procrastination. I am convinced that it is my duty, under the circumstances that I

have detailed, to waive every personal consideration and to further the Commission, without insisting on any of the propositions I have mentioned excepting such as are essentially requisite for attaining the ends of justice."

The expediency of inquiry had been three times, under different forms, pushed to a division in the House of Commons, and three times denied—in May, 1850, by 145 to 20; in July, 1850, by 169 to 29; and in July, 1851, by 230 to 19.

How the newly elected House would have regarded the matter it had no full opportunity of showing. A notice of motion from Mr. Hume * stood for "after Easter," but before Easter he was able to write to the Editor of the *Straits Times* (Mr. Woods) that the Earl of Aberdeen, having informed him that he had determined on an inquiry, "I have concurred in the proposed proceedings, and shall withdraw the notice that stands before the House of Commons, and hereby leave the whole in the hands of the Government."

The inquiry was found to have been decided on fully three weeks before the Raja became acquainted with the intention of the Government, and to many it seemed that the concealment was designed to last until he had left England. Self-controlled as are his parting letters, no words can express the wounded feeling created by what appeared the treacherous act of men who had given him a right to look to them for justification and support. The trouble, the worry, the time and strength needlessly spent; the certainty of enemies hitherto beaten at every point considering that the hour of their triumph; of every slanderous paper which had hounded on the attack glorying in what they would assuredly affirm to be his disgrace; of the country, seeing the Government set

* "*Mr. Hume.*—That it is the opinion of this House that an immediate inquiry should be instituted into the grave charges, now upon the table of the House, against Sir James Brooke; and that it is the imperative duty of her Majesty's Government to make the said inquiry full, searching, and effectual, for the good of the public service and the maintenance of national honour.—(*After Easter.*)"

The opinion of three eminent Queen's Counsel on these "grave charges" has been stated.

itself in opposition to the House of Commons, well-nigh necessarily giving them credit for private information of a nature to justify such a course—all this was as nothing to the sense of betrayal. Of the result of the Commission he never doubted: expenses he might get repaid, but the old feeling, the old hope, could never come back. "Ambition has been dead in me since 1853," he said, many years afterwards.

The worst, however, was not yet come, for as the steamer *Bengal* bore him from Southampton he had the hope that the Commission would be issued at once, and not only the hope but, as he believed, the assurance, that the inquiry would be full and fair.

A few days after sailing, when his mind had had time somewhat to recover, he wrote to Mr. Templer—

"As for the proposed inquiry, I can see nothing but good that can result, provided that it be fair, and that the Government has no evil design. I write with difficulty; I am not troubled about myself, but my moral perceptions have been much shocked by the course pursued. I am much better in health; the excitement of the last week has passed away, and has not left any remarkable depression. Man and man's judgment is but a little thing, and a struggle against evil, though it be noble, is very disagreeable. It fortifies the character, however, and, if rightly used, imparts a degree of charitable feeling which we too much require."

The climate of the Red Sea was at first very pleasant, and as he sat on deck rejoicing in the sunshine, and looking forward to the pleasure of meeting at Aden his dearly loved niece, Mrs. Nicholetts, he tried hard, and with some measure of success, to forget his troubles or to take them calmly.

"I see my way very clearly," he writes, "and at a distance from England I have a cool and steady judgment; and I shall not come to any hasty resolution; but I shall proceed to Brunė as soon as possible after my arrival, and in some degree be guided by the result of my measures there. I hold myself now to be quite clear of the public service of England, and as holding my appointment solely for the convenience of

Government. I cannot see on what basis I could in future serve unless my position was defined, and some assurance given, to restore the confidence which at present is wanting.

"*April 26th, off Aden.*—The heat has been considerable, but very bearable. My poop cabin I find comfortable, and I often long to have you here with me for a few weeks: you would enjoy it so much. Hannah [Mrs. Templer] may frown if she pleases, but she herself, spite of her dislike to foreign lands and her clinging to her dear old dingy, cloudy England, would be pleased to see from afar off the sites of Israel's wanderings—Horeb and Sinai and the desert of Sin. I wonder if this wilderness of Sin is an allegorical or a real place. Bad as the reality may be, how much worse that flowery wilderness where we pluck the fruit of Eden (or Aden) amid soft music and sweet sounds; or where the arid rocks of hatred, malice, and uncharitableness look black in the wilderness of life! However, we must flounder through the desert before we arrive at the land of promise, and if we find a shady nook by the way, we must in our allegory compare it to a good wife, merry children, and warm friendship.

"Do not be afraid, my friend, to act, for really after two years' daily discussion we have not yet disagreed on a single course of action. Be bold—for that is the temper of my mind, and if I am cautious it is only to help me to strike the harder."

The few hours' stay at Aden were brightened by the presence of Mr. and Mrs. Nicholetts, but a letter from Capt. Brooke received there gave the Raja some uneasiness. A powerful Sakarran chief named Rentap was in arms, and, while endeavouring to force his way to the sea, had been opposed by another chief named Gasin and by Mr. Brereton and Mr. Lee. Above this fort, on the Sakarran river, was a small stockade, manned by Mr. Brereton's Dyaks, and this the enemy had attacked. On its gun, however, being fired they retreated, apparently in confusion, pursued by the two Englishmen and their followers. No dream, or note of bird, nothing comprehensible to Dyak intelligence, had shown these the need

of caution, and as, careless of danger, they were following what appeared a routed enemy, they found themselves, on turning a point, unexpectedly in face of an overwhelming force of Rentap's people in heavy boats, bearing down on them with a strong ebb tide. Mr. Brereton's boat, with many more, was swamped, he, by the help of some Malays, gaining the bank. Mr. Lee had pushed boldly on in spite of the entreaties of all his crew, till, his boat being boarded by the enemy, he was cut down, and fell sword in hand into the water and sank.

At Singapore, which the Raja reached on the 14th May, he found later intelligence.

"I had a long letter from Brereton, dated April 26th, downcast by Lee's death and his first reverse, but written in an admirable spirit, and begging me not to judge his conduct or policy by recent events or rumour. I gather from his letter that the mass of the Dyak population are in his favour, and sincerely desirous of abandoning piracy; and our friend Gasin, without even mentioning to Brereton his intentions, walked away into Rentap's country and destroyed twenty villages. Now that we have begun in earnest, you will see that we will humble these pirates by a course of strong-handed measures. I may not be a clear-sighted statesman, but I will cut any man's throat that asserts that I am not a general! You know how tender I have been in avoiding occasion of raising up internal strife among these communities, and this evil has been brought about by the English Government. There need, however, be no complaint where there is no redress required. I shall devote myself with a single heart and mind to the suppression of this piracy and the protection of Saráwak; I know that the energies and the heart of every good man, woman, and child will be with me, and I shall not be misled again by lukewarm politicians.

"Brooke was out with his fleet in the hope of intercepting forty pirate prahus, who have proceeded to Sambas, in the prosecution of their intertribal war against the Netherlands, to ravage the coast of Sambas. I hope he may make mince-

meat of them. I shall take no assistance from the navy till orders from home send them to me. Brooke sent over my servant and Charley Grant to meet us, and we are now dying to get over to them all. I feel as though I shall be happier on my return to Saráwak than I have been for years. Brooke will join you when the one hundred years' war is over!—say next year."

The last extract is from a letter to Mrs. Johnson. It contains, as usual, affectionate messages to each member of the home circle. In one (of a much later date) he says, "I do not care a fig for what comes to myself. 'Don't care' came to the gallows, as grandmamma used to say, but I am just as naughty now as then, and *don't* care. I do care, dearest, about your children."

Amongst the family circle at Lackington there was one daughter whose health was a cause of constant anxiety, and she is continually mentioned. The Raja's last act when coming out in the *Meander* in 1848 had been to send her a valentine from Ireland, and whether she received it and guessed the sender was specially inquired. An expression in a letter now drew from him, "Tell her that I never was angry with her in all my life, so she must not do me injustice even in her dreams."

The small but clamorous party of the Raja's opposers in Singapore testified in every way its unmeasured satisfaction and sense of victory. Mr. Hume's letter to Mr. Woods appeared in the *Straits Times* with an appropriate article. It was no longer the Government of Labuan that had returned, no longer "His Excellency"—"the nature and value of the credentials with which he again appears among us will be best known by the official correspondence we give below." There was a great show of getting up evidence that should utterly crush the Raja, while, on the other hand, those who had throughout supported him felt mingled disgust at the conduct of the Government in, as it appeared to them, truckling to a petty faction, and satisfaction in the anticipation of victory; for none doubted either of a clear and honourable acquittal, or

that, as a matter of course, this would lead to his position becoming infinitely better than before. The excitement in the island during the years 1850 to 1854 was intense; everything was Brooke or anti-Brooke. The papers teemed with letters and articles; the *Free Press* upholding him, the *Straits Times* denouncing him. His name was like a shell thrown on any dinner-table, and questions in the Chamber of Commerce were decided by Brooke or anti-Brooke majorities.

The news of the inquiry being granted naturally intensified this excitement, and the Raja wrote to Lord Clarendon, protesting against the Commission, under the circumstances, being held there, and at the same time claiming payment of all expenses, legal or personal, which the inquiry might entail; adding in a later letter that, although he claimed this, he would not let any pecuniary considerations delay the inquiry.

May 24th, before leaving for Saráwak, he wrote—"I know nothing of the Commission, as it puts me in a fever of indignation; for though reason comes out in the market-place and convinces me that it is the best thing that can happen for myself, and perhaps for the poor people, yet men are blessed or cursed with feelings and passions, and an injustice is hard to bear and hard to forgive, particularly when it is accompanied by every circumstance of concealment and of needless disgrace and pain—disgrace, so far as the opinion of the world can inflict it."

A small merchant vessel took him on to what seemed now his only home. He was sick at heart and ill in health, and when within sight of the mountains of Saráwak, and of the fleet of boats that came out to give him joyous welcome back, an attack of illness set in which proved to be small-pox. His first care after landing was to insist on every one who had not had the disease keeping out of his room, and then to put himself in the hands of an Arab, named Sheriff Moksain, who practised the native treatment.

Mr. McDougall was in England and no European doctor at the time in Saráwak. Sheriff Moksain, the faithful Inchi Subu, and three Malays, devoted themselves to the Raja, while

to the skill and care of Mr. Arthur Crookshank he himself always felt his recovery to be mainly due.

One more there was who did all in his power, the Rev. A. Horsburgh, now chaplain on the Bengal Establishment at Delhi, then a missionary in Saráwak. The following account is kindly supplied by him :—

"Having heard that the Raja would not allow any of his relations to attend upon him from fear of their taking the disease, I wrote to Captain Brooke and offered to nurse him. Captain Brooke at first thought I had better not, as I might introduce the disease into the mission school; but early next morning I received a note from him asking me to go over and see the Raja. I found him in the height of the disease, and I need not describe the unsightly appearance, but at the same time I could not help being struck with the sharpness of his clear blue eye. The fever was very high, his mind was so continually wandering* that it was difficult to make him understand anything; yet he could generally be recalled to a subject by a direct address, and he could then express himself clearly upon it. As I entered the room he saw me and called out, 'Don't come here! Have you had small-pox?' I was beginning to explain that I believed I had, and that I had often attended patients; but, not understanding me, he called out, 'What, what? Have you had it—have you had it?' to which I bluntly answered 'Yes.' I told Captain Brooke after leaving the room that I thought the Raja very ill, but that I had seen people as ill recover.

"The next morning I got another note from him, asking me to come over and nurse the Raja. Sheriff Moksain had said that he was dying, and suggested that it should be given out that he had gone back to Singapore, that so the change of Government to Captain Brooke might take place without any disturbance. This, however, I did not then know.

"I had been reading in some medical publications that it

* "In my delirium I was fighting as usual, not against Dyaks but by the side of Simon de Montford at the battle of Evesham, and tore my cheeks which I considered the battle-field."—*Letter to Mr. W. H Read.*

was now the custom to treat fevers with wine and brandy, and I explained to Captain Brooke what I thought, and shewed him the authorities on which I formed my opinion, for Mr. McDougall, who was then in England, had a medical library which we missionaries all studied. I accordingly proposed that he should have some brandy, and, Captain Brooke assenting, I mixed some with water, and put in some things to make it taste like medicine, and brought it to him. He resolutely refused to take or even to look at it. Captain Brooke, Mr. Crookshank, and, I think, the present Raja, were in the room. 'For God's sake, Raja,' said Captain Brooke, 'do take it,' and he pleaded earnestly that he should. He at last was so far moved as to ask what it was, so I told him there was quinine in it. 'Anything else?' 'Tinc. Cardamoms.' 'Anything else?' I fenced with the brandy as long as possible, but before his eager and half-angry questioning I was obliged at last to confess it. This was enough, he turned his face to the ceiling, held up his hands, and exclaimed, 'Who ever heard of brandy in small-pox!' Abashed and disappointed as I was, and deeply anxious both at my own responsibility and at his evident danger, I could not help feeling the thoroughly ludicrous nature of the scene, and had to turn my back to conceal a silent laugh; but I saw plainly that there was nothing more to be done, at least, at present, on this side of the question. The gentlemen then left the room and I remained alone with the servants, but as I saw he did not take kindly to me, I kept pretty much out of sight, merely coming forward and showing myself when he wanted anything. In the afternoon he seemed to be getting weaker, and I made up a stimulating prescription, which was given in one of the medical books, told Captain Brooke of it, and begged him to use his influence to get the Raja to take it. At Captain Brooke's entreaty he took it, and it soothed him and gave him a little rest. At midnight Sheriff Moksain thought him dying, and urged me to tell Captain Brooke so; it seemed to me that he was going on well, but I went with Sheriff Moksain to the Captain's room. He told me after-

wards, that when he heard our knock he thought all was over. I told him that I myself thought he would live through the night, and that there was still a hope of recovery. This seemed to give Captain Brooke some comfort, and my prognostication was right. I continued to give the Raja food and stimulants, but he did not like my pressing the medicine on him, and from the hands of Mr. Crookshank especially he would take what he would not from me.

"The joy in Saráwak when all danger was over was very great, both among natives and Europeans; for all had been deeply distressed, and many fervent prayers, in church, mosque, and temple, were offered for his recovery. It was he who had produced order out of chaos, who conferred peace upon the country, gave security to life and property, turned the energies of the Malays and Dyaks from head-hunting and raiding to industry and commerce. He made his principality an asylum, in the best sense of the word, to all the surrounding people, and attracted thither multitudes of the industrious and well disposed. And now it seemed so sad that on his return from England, where he had met with disappointment, he should only come back to his own land to die. Great therefore was the joy of all at his recovery, for all knew the benefits they derived from his rule, and, most of all, the Asiatics, to whom personal rule is everything, and who feared that with him these benefits might disappear.

"But the danger was past; it seemed as if a new accession of good was to flow in upon the province, and this wonderful land was to become more wonderful now that its creating and directing spirit was restored to it. Indeed, Saráwak to me never lost its romance. During my four years' residence there, though engaged in a daily round of prosaic duties, it ever seemed to me a fairy land, presided over by a good genius, and guarded by him from all the calamities that afflicted the surrounding tribes. It was an ideal land, blessed with most of the benefits, and shielded from most of the evils, of civilization. But it was even more. It was as the torch of civilization and religion, shining in and illuminating

a barbarous and a heathen country; and this torch I could never cease to remember was both kindled and upheld by Sir James Brooke."

The Raja's first letter after his recovery had begun was to Mr. Templer. It is dated June 28th, and was dictated to Mr. C. Grant, and signed by himself "just to prove he had some strength left." He speaks of the care taken of him, and of having recovered his senses after a long sleep, induced by opium given him by Mr. Crookshank, from which, he says, "I woke, sensible of the loathsome state to which I was reduced; literally from head to foot seamed with this frightful disorder; and, feeble as an infant, I strove to reconcile myself to the will of God, who had afflicted me. . . . Such has been my past history for the month, little to tell of, but much to go through. How I rejoiced in the intelligence that you had obtained the Mastership [in the Exchequer Court]; on every account it is most desirable.

"Now to business. I should not care in the least for the Inquiry, were it not for the marked spirit of the Government. We will wait patiently and see what comes of it, and, with Lord Dalhousie's selection of two or three good men from India, I still believe it will be shown that the Government is the responsible party for everything that has been done excepting the good which has resulted from my efforts. When I witness the security which reigns, the prosperity and happiness of all classes here, and the advance of the other rivers, I cannot believe, after all that is passed, that this can lightly be destroyed by the prejudices of any set of men.

"I do not answer Hannah's letter, though I, too, could talk of cows and calves, and milk and butter. I congratulate her most sincerely on her new dignities. I shall always, for the future, address her as *Mrs. Master Templer!!!*

"Tell her, too, not to be horrified at my ugliness, for though I am fifty years of age, and did not boast of being handsome before, yet I know that a poor scarred face is distasteful to the female sex. I cannot help telling you, though it may look something like boasting, of the many simple, yet

touching tokens of kindly feeling which have been evinced by the inhabitants of this place since my illness. Many of the Mahommedan houses have nightly had prayers, and many have been the vows that if God granted me life they would pray with feasting. The Klings, our despised people of the Malabar coast, have distributed alms to the poor as an offering for my safety; and the Chinese, after their fashion, have made offerings for the same purpose.

"How I turn from the suspicions and abuse of some of my own countrymen to the simple attachment of those who live about me! The Dyaks are again quiet, and there is no doubt that, with the mass of them living towards the sea, a great change is taking place in their habits, and that a propensity for trade is gradually gaining ground over the habit of piracy as that occupation becomes more difficult and more dangerous. Directly I grow strong enough I shall go on to Borneo, to meet and arrange matters with the new Sultan, and see what can be done for his good, and more for the good of the people. Brooke left me last night to go up a mountain called Peninjau, where we are about to build a small sanitarium as my residence. The climate will be some six or eight degrees cooler than down below, and the scene is one of the most charming in the world. I could tell you a great deal more, being in a babbling humour, but I am somewhat tired, and my time is short."

"For the Commission I care nothing," he wrote a little later to Archdeacon Coxe ("My dear Archdeacon and very dear Richard"). "I know that we have done right. I know that those people were pirates, and that the ordinary dictates of humanity required their suppression. I would take the whole responsibility on myself. I do not shrink from a single act, for I know they are to be justified before God and before upright men; but I was indignant and shocked at the concealment which aimed a petty Government intrigue against an individual, and sought to conceal it from him until he was separated from his friends and advisers.

"The Government is embarrassed as to the mode of carrying their intentions into execution. The approval of two former Governments (the component parts of which this Ministry is composed) is so full and warm of the various measures pursued during past years, that they can hardly cast their decisions aside with impunity. The majorities in Parliament confirming the views of the Ministry are likewise a stumbling-block; and they are equally afraid of involving the reputation or conduct of their naval officers of high rank, by doing which they would lead to a far more serious inquiry, which could only be carried on by an enormous outlay of money, and by a loss of many of their Parliamentary supporters. Under these circumstances the Commission must be circumscribed to investigate my position and acts alone, and will be a mere nullity; or, should it go further, it will be found that the measures stated to be mine, emanated with the Government; and that by far the largest share of the responsibility of their execution rests with the officers of the Queen's service. However, dear Richard, it is our duty to obey the Government which rules our country for the time being, and I wait the Commission, therefore, with something of curiosity, but nothing of fear. More than this I know not on the subject.

"I am convalescent, very comfortable, with a good appetite, and just able to crawl with a little support from one room to another. I shall be a good deal disfigured; but my friends will not esteem me the less for being a little uglier late in life. . . . I hope, the Commission over, to have little to do with official business or political controversy in future.

"Although the yearly Valpeian dinner will be over before this reaches you, yet this, with the proceedings of the Commission, will supply something to tell of your poor president at the next meeting."

July 22nd, he wrote to Mr. Templer—"The Admiral is on his way to China *viâ* Labuan, where he is to stay a few hours to qualify himself to report whether it is worthy of retention. In my opinion Labuan ought to be abandoned,

because the Government of England have not made, and will not make, the necessary exertions to develop its capabilities and to insure its success. Retrenchment seems to be the panacea for all evils and all failures alike, and begets the very evil which we seek to avoid. I enclose you an extract of the Admiral's public despatch to me. It is unique as a specimen of policy in the Government of a large country. These orders from the Admiralty are in direct violation of our treaties with Holland and with Bruné. Such a course of action with pirates has never been pursued before by any civilized nation, and is manifestly calculated to destroy our commerce, wherever it may be practically acted upon. Let either the Lanun or Chinese pirates know that we shall not molest them, unless they commit depredations on the English flag, and they would sweep away a million of commerce in these seas, which was bound to English markets in native bottoms.

"I have every reason to be satisfied with the condition of Sarebus and Sakarran. The disaster which led to Lee's death only proved the weakness of the piratical party and the strength of our adherents amongst the same people. The only question at issue between us is whether they shall put to sea for piratical purposes. I am a *Fate* to the Sarebus; and having now brought half of that community over to my way of thinking, it would indeed be wicked to allow the murder of many hundreds of people, when my efforts would save them, merely because the English Government looks black.

"Everything is quite quiet and prosperous. We have five schooners and brigs loading in the river, and great improvements have taken place under Brooke's rule during my residence in England."

By the beginning of August the Raja was sufficiently recovered to go to Bruné. He had heard while in England of the death of the old Sultan, and later that Mumim had succeeded. It was the best that could be under the circumstances—but if only Budrudeen had been alive! An account of this Bruné visit is given in a letter to Mr. Gilbert

Nicholetts, dated "At sea, September 18th." Mr. and Mrs. Nicholetts had left Aden and returned to Bombay, where the antecedents of Mr. Woods, who had migrated from Bombay to Singapore, were known. This is referred to in the beginning of the letter.

"I forget whether I answered your note concerning the information to be obtained respecting the former life and converse of Mr. Woods; but as it is a pleasure to write, I may as well indulge myself whilst I have leisure and ability. Brooke will have told all about the attack of small-pox from which I suffered so severely. I am now happy to say that my health is in a great measure reinstated, though my strength has not returned; and that I am only simply ugly and pock-marked, instead of being hideous and disfigured. So soon as I was able I started for Brunė to do my *devoir* to the Sultan, and to ascertain on what relations I stood with him and his Government. My enemies had been hard at work by every species of calumny to undermine my influence, and, of course, the impending Commission was a trump card in their hands, by means of which they hoped to effect my destruction, by rousing the princes (or some amongst them) to give evidence against me. These intrigues, however, signally failed. The Brunė Court would not cabal against me during my absence, and the residence of a fortnight amongst them not only reinstated but strengthened my power and position.

"After an absence of seven weeks I am now on my return home and provokingly delayed by a calm within sight of our port. The accumulated intelligence of three mails will, I trust, bring the news of the Commission and to what points the inquiry is to be directed. As far as I know or can even conceive, there is no single point or position, amid all the falsehoods which have been so industriously circulated, which can be sustained by direct evidence; and as for such evidence as can be given by G. and others, it will only recoil on themselves for having mixed themselves up in matters on which they could know nothing.

"Saráwak seven weeks ago was flourishing, and I dare say

it is so still, for there are elements there of permanency and progress, if our stupid Ministers do not check them. Charley [Johnson] came to see me when I was convalescent, and it was really delightful to witness the terms on which our party at Saráwak live. Charley delights in the life, and has sent in his resignation of the navy. I am not sorry that he escapes the risks of the impending war with Russia."

Mr. Charles Johnson had arrived in July, 1852, and been very soon afterwards stationed at Lundu. In consequence, however, of Mr. Lee's death, he was transferred to Linga, Mr. C. Grant succeeding him at Lundu. The following letters from the Raja reached him at Linga towards the close of this year (1853)—

"We received, as I told you, good news from Kanowit yesterday; and I do not believe these reports of the Kayans being false to us, although we must guard against any evil should our trust be misplaced. As for the man you have in detention for the alleged murder, or knowledge of the murder, of some Chinese many years ago, I think it better not to notice or move in that matter, because the crime occurred when I had no jurisdiction, and was perpetrated so long ago as to be forgotten by the Chinese themselves. Besides the man who was the real murderer has been dead some time. Let him therefore go his way. Society at that time was disorganized in the highest degree, and neither the Saráwak people nor myself had a right to interfere when the murder occurred. Explain the reasons if you feel called upon to do so. Do not pull the cords of government too taut of a sudden, and do not be rigid or starched in your views concerning the natives. You must proceed by degrees, and gain their entire confidence, before you can amend all that ought to be amended. Time is the destroyer, but time likewise is the improver; and if our bodies rot in the grave, our deeds will live after us.

"Keep well with Lela Palawan [a native chief]; do not look into small faults; tell him I trust him, and consider whether ten dollars a month would not make him more comfortable and more honest.

"Let me repeat again that you must do all you can to gain Lela Palawan, and make him an instrument of good whose interests are with you and at one with the interests of the Government under which he lives. He is a poor tool, I allow, to work with, but you must do the best you can with him.

"There must, there ought, and Brooke says there will be, some revenue derived from Linga this year. This revenue must be applied in a twofold way:—

"1st. To defray the expenses of Government, *i.e.*, the Fort, yourself, and Lela Palawan; and 2nd. To pay its quota, as of old, which I have guaranteed to the Sultan and Rajas of Bruné. Lead Lela Palawan to hope that his fortunes will rise with the fortune of the Government and the security and development of the country; and that, in the mean while, you will try and make him as comfortable as possible, and that you share the poverty which bad government has entailed on him and on the Dyaks. This leads me to some account of my Bruné negociation. Nothing could exceed the kindness of the new Sultan and all the Rajas. They gave me a fresh deed of Saráwak and the government of all the rivers to Sirik, of course including Linga. You may tell your people that the Sultan and myself are brothers, and that I have engaged that each river shall pay moderate revenue when it can afford it, and that they shall be placed entirely under my government, so that they may make themselves quite easy and be assured that we will govern them justly and kindly. I will bring the deed with me, in a copy, and explain the rest there.

"Brereton says that traces of Balows have been found on the Sakarran ground. Ask him how he distinguishes these Balow traces, and whether it is not likely they are some of Rentap's people in the Sarebus or Linga, both of whom were savage against the Sakarrans under Gasin. At the same time clearly intimate to all the Balows and Undups that if they be found guilty of killing the Sakarrans, who are their friends as well as mine, the people who do so must be given up to me for trial, and that if found guilty they will

be put to death or fined, not only for the offence against Sakarran but against the Government. Be unmistakably resolute on this point, but tell them, at the same time, that I trust in the chiefs and tribe in general, and I am sure they will prevent so great a crime and misfortune, and if perpetrated that they will find the people at once and hand them over for punishment."

The friendly overtures of Kum Nipa, the Kayan chief, have been mentioned. To strengthen his good-will the Raja now sent him his uniform as Governor of Labuan, having no further occasion for its use himself.

In Saráwak an onward step was made.

"The most important measure about to be carried out is the taking the Dyaks from the datus into my own hands (direct), of course giving them an equivalent sum from the revenue in money. This has long been an object near my heart, and the time has now arrived when I can carry it out with safety and advantage to all parties. This will bring 25,000 Dyaks under the direct rule of the English, and we shall see them advance as I wish. On Saturday next I meet *the country*, to explain the present position of the Government in relation to Bruné, to England, and to Sarebus.

"*September 27th.*—I met all the people collected on Saturday. I read them the documents from Bruné;* told them of the Commission, the objects of the inquiry, etc., and we had a good deal of discussion on the subject. The Datu Patingi said the white men in England must be fools, and were giving themselves a great deal of trouble about nothing. They all agreed that they were a free people; and old Datu Tumangong declared they would fight any one who doubted it."

Before the year closed a letter from Sultan Abdul Mumim reached the Raja full of assurances of friendship, and Mr. Hugh Low, Treasurer of Labuan, who visited Bruné at this time, gladdened Brooke by the expression of his conviction that the Sultan's words were altogether sincere.

* Fresh deed in connection with Saráwak, and further grant of territory. See letter to Mr. C. Johnson, preceding page.

The Raja had been, the Sultan said, like a brother to the late Sultan and to Muda Hassim; it was unjust to say he had done harm to either; and as for himself and all the Brunê nobles they were his firm friends. The inquiry was a piece of unjust impertinence. It should either have taken place at the time of the acts to be inquired into or not at all. With the new reign had come in a new *régime;* it would be hurtful to reopen the past, and might even produce civil war.

That month of June in which the Raja lay between life and death at Kuching, the instructions for the Commission of Inquiry were sent by Lord Clarendon to Sir Charles Wood, President at the India Board. They were as follows:—

"Foreign Office, June 21, 1853.

"Sir,—The attention of her Majesty's Government having been drawn to certain anomalies in the position at present held by Sir James Brooke, her Majesty's Consul-General and Commissioner in Borneo, and to certain inconveniences thence arising, I have to inform you that it is deemed expedient that an inquiry should take place with respect to these matters, and that it would be convenient to her Majesty's Government that this inquiry should be conducted under the authority and by the direction of the Governor-General of India in Council.

2. "In addition to the offices above adverted to, of her Majesty's Consul-General and Commissioner, which constitute Sir James Brooke guardian and protector of British trade generally throughout the district to which his Commission extends, Sir James Brooke—by virtue of certain possessions held by him originally under the Sultan of Borneo, but now, as he states, independently, by the free-will of the people—claims to be considered as one of the independent rajas of that country, and is stated to be engaged in trade on his own account, in the produce of those possessions.

3. "Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the apparent conflict of the multifarious duties which attach to

these positions, affords a valid and just ground for the proposed inquiry. This inquiry will at the same time enable her Majesty's Government to judge whether the conduct pursued by Sir James Brooke, since his appointment, and the relations which he holds with the native chiefs, have been such as are becoming a servant of the British Crown, and conducive generally to British interests. It will also give to Sir James Brooke a fit opportunity of meeting the various charges which at different times have been brought against him.

4. "In pursuance of the object which her Majesty's Government have thus in view, I have to request that the Court of Directors may be moved to take the subject into their consideration; and I have to express the wish of her Majesty's Government that the Court will send instructions to the Governor-General of India to select two or more prudent and impartial persons to act as Commissioners for the purposes of this inquiry; and, if he should see fit, to give to those Commissioners the assistance of a legal adviser and of the necessary interpreters; and the Governor-General should furnish them with instructions for their proceedings, based on the contents of the present letter.

5. "It is the intention of her Majesty's Government that the Commissioners should, in the first instance, proceed to Singapore, on account of the facility which that possession, as centre of the trade with the Eastern Archipelago, would afford for the collection of evidence bearing on British commercial interests. As it will, however, be necessary that power and authority should be given to the Commissioners for this purpose to compel the attendance of witnesses within the jurisdiction of the East India Company at Singapore, and to examine such witnesses on oath, I have to suggest that the Indian Legislature should pass an act, giving the necessary power to the Commissioners, the terms of which should conform as nearly as possible to the terms of an act passed by the Government of Ceylon, in respect to a late inquiry in that island, a copy of which I herewith enclose.

6. "The period for opening the inquiry having been fixed,

the Commissioners will give notice thereof to the authorities at Singapore, and to Sir James Brooke, and will invite the latter to attend, and will afford him every facility for so doing; and for this purpose the Admiral commanding on the station will receive instructions to place at the disposal of the Commission such naval means of transport as they may require, either for themselves or for the conveyance of persons who may have to attend the inquiry as witnesses or otherwise.

7. "The first question to which the Commissioners will have to direct their inquiries is, whether the position of Sir James Brooke at Saráwak, either as holding that possession of the Sultan of Borneo, or, as he now alleges, as an independent Raja, holding it by the free choice of the people, be compatible with his duties as British Consul-General and Commissioner for Trade, and with his character of a British subject.

8. "With reference to this portion of the inquiry, it is to be observed, that by no act of her Majesty's Government has countenance ever been given to Sir James Brooke's assumption of independence, and that his possession of Saráwak has never been considered otherwise by them than as a private grant bestowed by a foreign sovereign upon a British subject.

9. "In the next place the Commissioners will have to inquire whether the interests of Sir James Brooke as a holder of territory, and as a trader in the produce of that territory, are compatible with his duties, as Consul and Commissioner for Trade, to promote and foster the general trade of other British subjects.

10. "Thirdly, it will be the duty of the Commissioners to inquire into the accusations brought against Sir James Brooke by British subjects, whether in their private capacity, or, as in the instance of the Eastern Archipelago Company, in a corporate capacity, of having sought to injure their interests with a view to the promotion of his own.

11. "Lastly, the Commissioners will have to inquire into the relations of Sir James Brooke with and towards the native tribes on the north-west coast of Borneo, with a view to ascertain whether it is necessary that he should be entrusted with a dis-

cretion to determine which of those tribes are piratical, or, taking into view the recent operations on the coast, of calling for the aid of her Majesty's naval forces for the punishment of such tribes.

12. "As in the course of the inquiry it may be expedient to move the Commissioners to some localities off the coast of Borneo, or to the island of Labuan, in order to enable them more efficiently to discharge the duty entrusted to them, and as it will in such case be necessary to confer upon them power and authority to exercise their functions at those localities, I have further to request that the Governor-General be instructed, as soon as he shall have made his selection of the Commissioners, to communicate their names and designations to the Court of Directors, in order that those names and designations may be inserted in an Order in Council, to be submitted to her Majesty, giving power and authority to the Commissioners, within the territories under the jurisdiction of the Sultan of Borneo, to compel the attendance of witnesses being British subjects, and to examine them on oath, to be issued under the powers vested in her Majesty by the Act of the 6 and 7 Vict. c. 94, intituled 'An Act to remove doubts as to the exercise of power and jurisdiction by her Majesty within divers countries out of her Majesty's dominions,' etc.; and by the additional article to the treaty concluded on May 7, 1847, between her Majesty and the Sultan of Borneo, granting jurisdiction in certain cases over British subjects within his dominions.

"Copies of the Act of Parliament and of the Treaty referred to are herewith enclosed.

13. "As regards the power to be conferred on the Commissioners within the jurisdiction of the island of Labuan, I have to request that the Governor-General be informed that the Lieutenant-Governor of that island will be directed to issue an ordinance similar to that already adverted to, which was issued by the Governor of Ceylon.

14. "As soon as the Commissioners shall consider that they are in possession of all the information on the several points to

which their attention will be directed by the Governor-General, they will make a full report upon the matters submitted to them, and close the Commission.

15. "As the expense of the inquiry will have to be borne by the public, care must be taken to exercise the strictest economy in carrying out the wishes of her Majesty's Government.

16. "I enclose, for the information of the Commissioners, one volume of papers containing, first, a confidentially printed copy of the correspondence which passed previously to the appointment of Sir James Brooke; and secondly, copies of the several papers and documents relating to this matter which have at various times been presented to Parliament.

17. "I further enclose copies, in manuscript, of letters from Sir James Brooke, from which you will see that he is desirous, by every means in his power, to further the objects of this inquiry; together with copies of certain documents which Sir James Brooke, in his letter of April 2nd, states that he wishes to be in possession of the Commissioners, and which are not included in the other printed papers herewith transmitted.

18. "I likewise enclosed a printed copy of a letter from Mr. Hume, together with three volumes of papers annexed to it, containing his charges against Sir James Brooke, and the points to which he considers that the inquiry should be directed. I have, etc.—CLARENDON."

Of these instructions Mr. Templer obtained a copy, and so full of serious misapprehensions did they appear to him that he addressed Lord Clarendon on the subject. A portion only of his letter is given here, for many of the reasons for remonstrance will be found stated by the Raja himself further on.

"I perform but a simple duty to an absent friend in protesting, at least until he has seen them, against the tenor of certain instructions that have been issued for an inquiry in the case of Sir James Brooke. I do so, I need scarcely assure your lordship, with extreme reluctance, and because, from my

intimate knowledge of his proceedings, both in Borneo and at home, I feel I can demonstrate to your lordship the incorrectness of certain statements of facts which are assumed in your lordship's letter to Sir Charles Wood as the basis of the inquiry, and as to which her Majesty's Government have been so clearly misinformed that any report founded on them could scarcely fail to inflict an injustice on Sir James Brooke, as well as an injury to the national interests involved. . . . I respectfully submit to your lordship whether, in common with the whole tenor and language of the despatch, it is not calculated to inflict a grievous injury upon a Government like that of Sir James Brooke at Saráwak, which necessarily rests much upon opinion, and also to awaken deeper feelings than those of irritation in a mind like his. As instances, I point to the passage, as to entrusting him with a discretion to determine what tribes are piratical, as indicating at the best in prospect but a very limited confidence, when he would require a fair and generous support; as a further instance, that the Sarebus and Sakarran tribes, are not even mentioned by name. Whether these tribes were or were not piratical, was the whole of the original question; by it the clamour was got up, and by it alone Sir James Brooke's enemies were enabled to mix up a number of minor charges with that of a deadly crime. On these instructions the grave accusation which, had there been the slightest faith left in it, should have led the van of the attack, is virtually abandoned. And, as a further instance, that while the Commission is to hold its head-quarters at Singapore, the place whence the enemies of Sir James Brooke have been in direct communication with Mr. Hume—Saráwak, the seat of Sir James Brooke's government, and where his policy and its fruits may surely be seen and judged, is not only not mentioned by name, but it is doubtful from the expression used, "localities off the coast of Borneo," whether the Commissioners are empowered, however essential they might consider it, to go to that place at all.

"I cannot believe, my lord, that these can be intentional defects in a document which must affect for good or evil a

large national interest; for, if they were, they indicate that Sir James Brooke's adversaries could only hope for a decision against him by presenting their case upon statements which would prevent his entering into evidence to show their fallacy; and then, my lord, I may be permitted to express my conviction that Sir James Brooke and his friends will never be satisfied without that further inquiry which, in 1851, Lord Palmerston* did not think it necessary to pursue. . . . Such an inquiry would then become not only necessary but indispensable to attain the ends of justice. The witnesses to be examined, and the evidence to be adduced, are in this country. The character of William Henry Miles, one of Mr. Hume's earliest witnesses, by evidence recently arrived here, can be shown: and the inquiry would necessarily be incomplete which would fail to expose the manufacture of that man's testimony. Mr. Hume and Mr. Wise are both here, and I feel confident that if it be extended to this country, with full power of examination as conferred in the recent election commissions, Sir James Brooke will be able to demonstrate to the public the machinations by which this persecution was commenced, and the deep personal enmity by which it has been continued.

"In conclusion, my lord, I cannot, although (and with pride I say it) I know Sir James Brooke's sentiments and position as well as any man—I know his noble love of truth, his keen sense of injustice, his self-respect, and self-dependence—I cannot, I say, foresee how he will receive these instructions. He may be willing to consider them reconcilable with the purport of Lord Wodehouse's despatch, and with the more recent declaration of Lord John Russell in the House, and accept them as in accordance with the spirit in which he understood the Commission was to issue before he left this country; or he may, looking at the high interests of his adopted people, whose welfare and happiness he seems by Providence chosen to protect, consider that they depart so widely from that understanding, as to justify him in refusing to meet a Commission which is to base its inquiries upon assumptions which strike

* See speech of Lord Palmerston, v. II. p. 47.

at the very root of his native power; and I may be further excused in stating, that if the instructions were framed to effect the latter object, and to produce the antagonism which can scarcely fail to be fatal eventually to every British interest, they appear to me to be likely to attain their object."

In reply to the above, Mr. Addington wrote, for Lord Clarendon (Foreign Office, September 9th, 1853) —

"I am directed to observe that you are in error with respect to many of the statements contained in your letter, and that if your objections were valid, the inquiry which her Majesty's Government have considered necessary, could not take place.

"I am further to remark that it is unlikely that Sir James Brooke would refuse to appear before the Commissioners who will be appointed to conduct this inquiry, as he himself has expressed his anxious wish for an inquiry respecting every transaction in which he has been engaged, and has offered to give every facility for conducting it."

To this, Mr. Templer answered, September 12th—

"As no particular statement, out of the many alleged to be erroneous, is mentioned, I might content myself with as general an assertion that they are each and every of them correct, those of fact strictly so, and those that allege opinions, as far as my knowledge and belief enable me to form them. I will, however, do more than this, and, as far as can be without prolixity, maintain them by saying, that the facts and dates which support the objection to the first head of the inquiry, are either shown by public documents printed by order of the House of Commons, or relate to circumstances which have taken place within my own knowledge. That the objections which bear on the second head of the inquiry, are patent on the face of the instructions themselves; while to the statements which relate to the third head, as to the proceedings and position of the Eastern Archipelago Company, I can depose with direct certainty. Those proceedings were all taken within my own knowledge. I was an eye-witness of the trial, and can speak personally, if need were, to the accuracy

of every statement in the protest, as to the procedure and present position of that unparalleled case.

"The fourth head, then, my lord, is the only one to which I conceive your lordships' assertion of erroneous statement in the protest can attach. In dealing with that head I advanced an opinion as to the general tenor of the instructions, and cited three instances that appeared to me decisive of the adverse spirit in which they had been conceived.

"On this subject I should rejoice, my lord, to find that my opinion was erroneous; that the passages I referred to as indicative of that spirit, have no such construction; that her Majesty's Ministers, upon a return of the Commissioners in Sir James Brooke's favour, are prepared to accord his policy a fair and generous support; that the question of the Sarebus and Sakarran piracy is by them *bonâ fide* intended to be raised by the inquiry; and that Saráwak, as well as Singapore, is to be a place where the Commission is to hold its sittings. If these things be according to the tenor of the instructions, I am the first, my lord, to confess that I was in error with respect to them. I also trust, my lord, you will allow me further to dissent from the conclusion of your lordship, 'that if my objections were valid the inquiry which her Majesty's Government had considered necessary could not take place.' My protest was addressed against a particular inquiry—against an inquiry based on statements manifestly erroneous, on statements which could not stand the touchstone of truth; but by no means against the inquiry which her Majesty's Government had informed Sir James Brooke they were about to issue; and, certainly not against that full, fair, and searching one, that is now rendered so imperatively necessary; an inquiry that will show Sir James Brooke on the one side and his enemies on the other; an inquiry that by its results will raise the question whether some constitutional check cannot, and ought not, to be put on the license which now apparently enjoys an immunity of action, upon the character and fortunes of any public servant, and thus from individual injury educe a general good.

"With regard to the concluding paragraph of Mr. Adding-

ton's letter, I trust, my lord, you will forgive me if I speak plainly to your lordship. Whether Sir James Brooke will refuse to appear remains to be seen. To deal frankly with your lordship, were I in his place, unless the erroneous statements in the instructions were amended, by allowing Sir James Brooke to dispute the fact stated as the basis of the first head of the inquiry, after all that has occurred, I would not appear; and I should be quite content to place my reputation and character upon the verdict of my countrymen upon that course against those of Mr. Hume and his associates. Whatever may be alleged to the contrary, Sir James Brooke is independent in Saráwak, and that independence has been virtually acknowledged by her Majesty's Government, and independent there he will remain, unless Great Britain should make war upon Saráwak, as some return for the services her ruler has, according to more than one public acknowledgment, conferred upon his native country. . . . It should not be disguised from your lordship, that with every wish on the part of Sir James Brooke and his friends to meet a fair, full, and searching inquiry, and to give every facility for conducting it—it is on the condition, and that condition only, that it be fair, full, and searching; and that, however triumphant to Sir James Brooke the result may be—and indeed, as I know, cannot fail to be—still, in the opinion of his friends, a grievous personal injury has been already inflicted, by conceding it to Mr. Hume; and it will need all the magnanimity of the noble English character against whom it has been directed to avert the national evils that in other hands might readily have been worked by it."

Mr. Addington briefly acknowledged this (Foreign Office, September 19th), concluding with, "I am to observe to you in reply, that as the Earl of Clarendon does not apprehend that any useful object would be attained by continuing this correspondence, his lordship must decline to enter into a discussion with reference to the contents of your letter."

A copy of the instructions was forwarded by Lord Wodehouse to the Raja as Lord Clarendon's answer to his protest against the Commission being held in Singapore.

"You will perceive it is intended," Lord Wodehouse wrote, "that the Commissioners should not be limited to Singapore; and as regards your claim for the payment of every legal or personal expense which the proposed inquiry may entail, I am to observe to you that it will be for her Majesty's Government to determine when the proper time arrives what expenses shall or shall not be paid."

Before this despatch reached the Raja he had learned the instructions through Mr. Templer, and the immediate result was a letter to Lord Clarendon.

"*September* 24, 1853.—My Lord,—I have the honour to resign into your lordship's hands the appointments which I hold in the public service.

"I beg further to convey to your lordship the assurance of my continued desire to advance the interests of England in this country so far as may lie in my power. I have, etc.—James Brooke."

With this he forwarded another despatch, criticising the instructions to the Commission, and especially the statement therein that his position had "never been considered by the Government otherwise than as a private grant bestowed by a foreign sovereign upon a British subject," and showing that, in his communications with the Governments of Sir Robert Peel, Lord John Russell, and the Earl of Derby—on which they had acted,—he had spoken of Saráwak as a Government ceded to him by the Sultan, and confirmed by the will of a people free to choose; that in his letter to Mr. Gardner, published in 1842, he had stated that he held the government and administered the laws; that in his Journal, published in 1846, by Captain the Hon. Henry Keppel, this was clearly shown; that the Earl of Aberdeen, in his correspondence with Mons. Dedel, the Dutch Minister, had referred to this publication, and had not disallowed the assertion which formed the foundation for the Dutch remonstrance, and that the correspondence proved that "although the position I held had been obtained in my private capacity in reference to her Majesty's Government, yet that the position itself, as well as

the very objects which I was exerting my efforts to reach, were of a public character, and were so viewed by the Netherlands Government and by the Government of Great Britain."

He referred to the correspondence about the flag, and to Lord Palmerston's reply in reference to the United States' treaty, and concluded with—

"I will leave it, upon the evidence thus produced, to your lordship's candid reconsideration—whether my position at Saráwak, holding the territory and government of a considerable province; the question of a protectorate flag not yet decided by her Majesty's Ministers; invested with the dominion of Saráwak in perpetuity by the avowal of the Netherlands Government; supported by England in this position by the declaration of the Earl of Aberdeen; receiving an overture from the United States for the conclusion of a treaty, and no objection existing to this treaty on the part of the British Government—I leave it to your lordship's judgment to declare whether such a position could be considered as a private position, and whether the grant which placed me in this position could be considered merely as 'a private grant bestowed by a foreign sovereign on a British subject.'

"Your lordship in your instructions further states that the proposed inquiry will afford me a fit opportunity of meeting the various charges which have been brought against me, and that it will be the duty of the Commissioners to inquire into the accusations brought against me by British subjects. I beg to state that it will be sufficient on my part to answer charges, when a *primâ facie* case shall have been established, which has not yet been done, although repeatedly attempted in Parliament; and that I have accusations to make, as well as a defence to offer. It would be contrary to every principle of justice to permit an accuser, corporate or individual, to urge a charge against me whilst he is screened himself by his absence from the Commission. Let me meet these accusers face to face, let the charges to be urged be clearly defined, let the witnesses for the defence be examined, and I will meet all and every matter frankly, freely, and unreservedly; but

without this being done, the present inquiry can be but preliminary to a more complete and searching Commission in England, as it will be evident, from the unlimited nature of your lordship's instructions, that not only the members of the present Government must be examined, but numerous other officers and gentlemen, who are now scattered over the world, and whose testimony will be of vital importance to my defence. One or other of the two courses named must be pursued to maintain the established principles of equity; and I am ready to prosecute the inquiry, so that it be full, searching, and complete. I have further to request that a competent legal adviser may be retained on my behalf at the public expense, and that my friend Mr. Templer may be authorized to make the selection in question; and, in conclusion, I beg to remind your lordship of what I have stated in a previous despatch, namely, that it will be an evasion of justice if the Commission does not visit Saráwak."

A letter of November 2, 1853, to Mr. Templer, shows the undercurrent of feeling:—

"I have just received your kind letter of September 8th. Lord Grey's is a noble and frank answer, and he is a noble man. Lord Ellesmere writes me a very kind letter, on his return from America. He says, 'I shall hope to hear shortly from your friends here whatever they know of your affairs—they will find me anxious on the subject.' I hope you will like my protest and letter to Lord Clarendon. Though inclined to act too openly and candidly for the riff-raff of politics, I can have a cool head and a calm temper on occasion; but if anything in this world and before God justifies a fiery indignation it would be the injustice of earth's porcelain, who play their tricks before high heaven. Let it pass—I know I have done no man wrong, and I know that tens of thousands are peaceful and happy now, who were oppressed and miserable when I undertook my task. It is not ingratitude from the country, nor injustice from Ministers, nor defamation from the righteous few, nor praise from the ignorant many, that will move me either one way or another. If they destroy my work I will die

here, and leave the legacy of good government and good advice to the natives.

"I am not wearied of Saráwak. I have enough work to fill my mind and employ my time, and I have a cottage—oh such a cottage!—on a mountain, with a climate perfection, and with a prospect rarely found in this world. And such fruit-trees, too, loaded now with fruit, though I was obliged 'the other day to cut down about a hundred to allow the others to breathe and to grow.

"You must thank Lord Grey for his kind message. I will myself write him shortly, but say, that just or unjust in its institution, I will prove in the face of the world that I have wronged no man, but that I have been myself deeply wronged, and mostly by those who have encouraged and approved my measures, and now inquire into those very measures, and question a position which has all along been known to them, and in which they have acquiesced."

A further despatch was sent to Lord Clarendon, Dec. 23, 1853:—

"My Lord,—I append a list of some witnesses whose evidence will be requisite for my justification before the Commission appointed by her Majesty's Government, and it must rest with your lordship either to command the attendance of these and other witnesses, or to institute a further and more complete inquiry in England, after the Commissioners shall have taken the evidence procurable in Singapore and 'off the coast of Borneo.'

"As it is my intention to challenge the instructions on which this Commission is to be based, I likewise forward a list of the witnesses to establish the incorrectness of the statements contained in these instructions.

"The direct act of her Majesty's late Government in sanctioning, after four years' previous consideration of the measure, a flag which was 'to afford a recognized permanency' to Saráwak, when it was informed that the object was to give 'a spirit of national pride to the natives, who had eagerly

embraced this distinguishing mark of country,' is an absolute contradiction to the statement contained in the seventh paragraph of the instructions under discussion; and the assertion that Saráwak has never been considered by Government otherwise than as 'a private grant,' is further negatived by the impossibility of her Majesty's present Government deciding in what light this possession was considered by the three preceding Governments of Great Britain. It is a manifest impossibility, unless your lordship can produce a record of the decisions of the Cabinets of the late Sir Robert Peel, of Lord John Russell, and of the Earl of Derby, upon this point.

"Amid the numerous and varied proofs to invalidate the statement which your lordship has erroneously made, a reference to Viscount Palmerston's despatch of October 24, 1850, and to the minutes of evidence taken before the Committee on Army and Ordnance Expenditure, questions 8368, 8369, 8370, 8371, 8399, 8400, may convince you in how different a light the possession of Saráwak was viewed by two influential members of a former Ministry.

"I have to observe, with reference to the sixth paragraph of the instructions, that if my position at Saráwak be compatible with the laws of England, it must be compatible with my character as a British subject; and the decision as to whether it be compatible or incompatible with the laws must rest not with a Commission, but with the highest legal tribunal in the State.

"When your lordship, in the tenth paragraph of the instructions, directed inquiry into the relations I maintain with and towards the native tribes on the north-west coast of Borneo, with a view to ascertain whether it is necessary that I should be entrusted with a discretion to determine which of these tribes are piratical, it was surely in forgetfulness of the fact that the Earl of Aberdeen, without reference to me, and in allusion to the measures adopted for the suppression of piracy before I was engaged in the public service, has recorded that 'those measures' (against the very tribes in

question) were adopted only on the 'fullest proof that the parties against whom they were directed were actually and habitually pirates.'

"It is an indirect mode of raising the simple question whether the Sarebus and Sakarran people were or were not pirates. This question shall be directly and honourably brought before the Commission; but the instructions are not the less erroneous in investing me with a discretion I was never intrusted with, and which, in reference to the particular tribes in question, had been conclusively exercised by the Government of the late Sir Robert Peel, without my testimony being called for, and altogether without my knowledge.

"I must further remark that, in calling for the aid of her Majesty's naval forces for the punishment of these and other piratical tribes, I exercise no prerogative of office, but a right common to every Englishman in every quarter of the globe; and whether such aid be called for by a private individual or by a public functionary, 'it must remain with the naval officer to determine whether it is or is not consistent with the orders which they may have received from the Admiralty, or from their superior officers, to make such arrangements or to undertake such operations.'* These are but cursory objections against the instructions; but if these and numerous other objections of a like character be valid, and show that the statements advanced are opposed to facts, as I am prepared to prove, it would render the Commission not only unjust but nugatory.

"I have acceded, as your lordship is aware, to a 'fair, full, and complete inquiry;' but I regret that I am forced to say that a Commission inaugurated under the instructions sent to the Governor-General of India could not be fair, could not be full, nor could it be complete; for it is no slight omission, no trivial violation of justice, that these instructions shield the real delinquents, and, calling upon me to defend myself against allegations scouted by the House of Commons, authorize no inquiry into the conduct of men whom I in turn have accused,

* Viscount Palmerston to Sir James Brooke, October 5, 1849.

and some of whom have been convicted of falsehood and of fraud by a jury of their countrymen.

"Unjust, incorrect, evasive, as I deem these instructions to be—unjust as any Commission based on such instructions must necessarily be—I will throw no impediment in the way of a preliminary inquiry; but at the same time, I call upon your lordship to render the proceeding fair, full, and complete; to correct the errors in the instructions; to define the charges; to name each accuser, and insure his presence; to furnish the names of the witnesses who *primâ facie* are to substantiate the accusations; to direct that evidence should be given by parties cognizant of the facts; to command the attendance of witnesses requisite for the defence; and to authorize such a scrutiny as will enable me to establish the malicious and the wicked nature of the charges which have been preferred, unsupported by evidence, and which have been repeatedly dismissed as unworthy of notice by the House of Commons. It is due to Parliament and to the country, to the ends of justice, and to the interests of British subjects.

"I demand inquiry, because inquiry has become necessary in consequence of the countenance given to slander by her Majesty's Government; but I protest against any decision arrived at after a partial inquiry based upon instructions opposed to facts, and against any Commission authorized to hunt for testimony in order to criminate me upon charges which are unsupported by *primâ facie* evidence, and which have been rejected by Parliament upon that express ground. I have, etc.—JAMES BROOKE."

Among the names on the list of witnesses requisite for the Raja's justification that accompanied the above, are those of Lord Aberdeen, Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane, Captains the Honourable Henry Keppel, Mundy, Bethune, Honourable George Hastings, Farquhar, and Sir Edward Belcher; Commanders Horton and Egerton; Lieutenants Brickwell, Williamshurst, Everest, D'Aeth, and Jenkins; Mr. McGregor; Mr. Hamilton Lindsay, Chairman, Mr. Woolly, Secretary,

and Mr. Henry Wise, Managing Director, of the Eastern Archipelago Company; and Mr. Joseph Hume, together with ten more. Admiral Sir F. Collyer, under whose orders Captain Farquhar acted, was dead.

In addition to this there was another list with the names of seven "witnesses to establish the incorrectness of the statements contained in the instructions sent to the Governor-General of India to issue a Commission, etc."—the Earl of Haddington, the Earl Grey, Viscount Palmerston, Lord John Russell, the Earl of Derby, Lord Stanley of Alderley, and Lord Stanley of Bickerstaffe.

CHAPTER XXII.

1854.

TOWARDS the close of 1853, the "Private Letters of the Raja Sir James Brooke," from 1838, edited by Mr. Templer, were published. In later letters there are several references to this. In one the Raja tells of reading out a review of them to an admiring audience, and of laughing over the extracts given, having entirely forgotten what he had written so long before. On the 10th of February he wrote to Mr. Templer—

"I am certain the book must have given you a world of trouble, and therefore wish it all the success you could desire. I congratulate you on being well rid of it.

"You cannot act too boldly for my taste and temper. There is such a quality as discretion which is the better part of valour, but it has nothing to do with the mean moral cowardice which too often usurps its name and its functions. I have nothing to ask, nothing to gain, and certainly I fear nothing. I am independent and I am happy, and even now the feeling of indignation roused by injustice has been calmed, and the recollection will die away with the subject.

"I expect *a great deal* from my friends, but they are few in number. How many think you? Ten? Five, four, three, two? *Brankali!* which, being interpreted, means 'Perhaps.' It is the convenient solution of every difficult question adopted by poor Muda Mahommed. Puzzle him, which is easily done, and he looks grave and says, 'Perhaps.'"

It was, however, in vain that Brooke assured himself and

others that indignation had passed. By a strong effort he could for a time throw it off, but it came back and would not die. His friends were in some uncertainty how to act for the best, and at last seem to have decided to wait until after the inquiry before bringing his case into the House of Commons, not wishing to irritate a Ministry they could not successfully oppose, and which there was some reason for hope might yet be influenced from within. As their decision became known to the Raja he reconciled himself to it, although with a pang.

"When the Commission is over I shall be dead to Parliament and to the nation. I should have liked some one to have told the Government that they had acted unjustly and unwisely; but beyond this I aimed at nothing from Parliament, and anything that might have been said or done could not have affected my future life. Let it pass therefore as a light matter."

The following is the substance of letters written previous to the above:—

"*March* 25, 1854.—There is only one item of intelligence not quite pleasing to me in your [Mr. Templer's] welcome letter of January 24th, and to that I shall first turn my attention. There seems to be a doubt about the decisive prosecution of my case in the House of Commons. I am sorry for it, for I am resolute on the point. I expect no success. I seek for justice. I am independent, and shall continue so. I maintain publicly that the Government has deliberately deviated from truth and misled me by false pretences. Under such circumstances, I make no distinction between the highest magnate and the poorest sweep in the land. They may murder me if they dare, but they shall not intimidate me. I will make the truth known in this matter, though all England to a man should wish me to be silent. Truth is higher than self-interest, self-respect is nobler than worldly position. I shall be proud to be injured by such men, and I fear nothing. Beg Drummond, then, to follow his own sense of justice—to speak boldly and unflinchingly without

one thought of my interest. I have no interest but the cause of justice and the advantage of England. Let him speak as though he were wronged himself, and leave the rest to the Parliament and to the public, and afterwards I am content that my name should never more be heard in England. If there be honour or high feeling left, he will not lack supporters; but let us tread the right path the more firmly because the herd are scared and deviate from it. Lord Grey and Lord Ellesmere will perhaps do in the Lords what Drummond, I am sure, will do in the Commons. Now for the mode.

"If any substantive motion be made to cancel the orders for the Commission, it should be on the express ground that, in the opinion of the House, there is no evidence to warrant it. I am reluctant, however, to let them off the Commission: it will bring truth to light, and there is nothing to object to the Commissioners. My view of the case is this:—Two questions should be asked—1st. Has her Majesty's Government considered the protest made by Mr. Templer and Sir James Brooke; and is it prepared to alter the instructions to make them consistent with facts and in accordance with the principles of justice and law? 2nd. Is her Majesty's Government prepared to make the Commission 'full, fair, and complete,' and to command the attendance of all witnesses necessary for Sir James Brooke's justification, and for the conviction of his calumniators?

"On either of these questions a motion might be founded; on the latter question, should it be contested, the result would be in our favour; should it not be conceded, we should gain most that was required to prevent the hole-and-corner investigation intended by Ministers, and they might be pushed on the other ground, and thus enable us to declare the whole truth as I desire.

"I do not in my denunciations include them all, though there is discredit attached to those who yield to a baseness as well as to those who perpetrate it."

"*April 26th.*—What the result may be of the discussions

in Parliament it is difficult to foretell, nor does it much signify. If the Commission be quashed with a high hand it will save me a world of trouble: if it come off I shall be better satisfied when the trouble and disgrace—for such it is—be over. It is satisfactory to my feelings that the subject should be discussed, and thus it will be an unmixed good. Lord Grey and Lord Ellesmere have truly proved themselves to be friends by their considerate kindness, Drummond not less so —firm and consistent in justice.

"I wish for nothing more than that I should not be subjected to wrong without discussion and resistance, and as for the compensation which you speak of, I wish it not. What compensation can be offered? I wish for quiet and for safety against the false accusations of the British Government, and against the claims and pretences of the Netherlands Government. Is this too much to ask?"

"*July 4th.*—Had the Commissioners been appointed in due course the Commission would now have been sitting in Singapore. Is it the pleasure of Ministers to suspend this inquiry for an indefinite period over my head? I am at a loss to conceive what 'terms' you could impose on Government. Can any terms restore my confidence? Can I forget the disgrace inflicted? Can I stand cap in hand for ginger-bread honours? Is the past to be no warning for the future? The terms, if any, are such as the Government will not agree to. Retract the charges fairly, fully, and publicly; withdraw the instructions issued for the Commission; recognize Saráwak and my position—and for the rest trust to my generosity and my sense of public duty. But as yet I can in no manner reconcile the thought to my mind of accepting any appointment.

"This is a long letter, but you have still to have a second on the position and affairs of Saráwak, for important events are passing, and pretty pictures are succeeding one another in our political kaleidoscope."

Since Rentap's outbreak, Sakarran had been more or less restless, and Sarebus sympathizing. Rentap—"Grandfather

Rentap" as the natives called him—was a most resolute old chief, and a preserver of the ancient customs, whereof piracy was the crown. Entrenched on Sadok mountain he defied the world in general, and Saráwak in particular, and we shall hear of him again more than once.

Gasin was altogether on the other side; his zeal, however, sometimes outran his discretion, and in a letter from the Raja to his nephew Charles (in 1856) we read, "Do, in future, restrain that silly dear old Gasin from going too far inland with ballas [large expeditions]. Mengayu anak [small expeditions] he may, but with these ballas in the enemy's country he will some day come to grief, and bring shame on our beards."

The sore point with the Raja in connection with this inter-tribal war was that it need never have broken out. "The want of support from Government did not justify me in preaching forbearance; and though these tribes might have been reduced to abstinence from their evil ways by the consistent exertion of a just power, without blood-shedding among themselves, yet the peace of the coast must be maintained and the turbulent put down at any cost. The responsibility rests with our Government."

In December, 1853, he had gone up the Sakarran, hoping by personal influence to bring about peace, but the fighting spirit was too strong: so in April, 1854, Captain Brooke was sent with a small force, and, being joined as he passed the mouth of the Linga by his brother Charles, reached Mr. Brereton, and with Gasin *en grande tenue* attacked Rentap's followers and their Sarebus allies.

"Brooke is away," the Raja wrote meanwhile, "carrying on operations against the pirate folk. It must be done, but I tremble for my children."

The attempt failed, partly because the attacking natives had their own way, as indeed they generally did in this jungle warfare. Their parental care of their English officers extended occasionally to forcibly holding them back if undue danger or treachery was anticipated. On the present occasion,

the ground being almost impassable, Gasin's Dyaks considered that no one but themselves, to whom it was familiar, had any prospect of attaining to the presence of the enemy, and therefore insisted on advancing alone. This done, they were beaten and returned on their supports, so wounded, worn out, and discouraged, that the whole force became demoralized and retreated, being provided with guides and provisions by the chivalrous enemy, whose tone, writes the present Raja,* appeared to be—"'You have all made a great mistake in coming, but we are above taking a mean advantage of it; we escort you for the purpose of placing you in the proper road for returning as quickly as possible.' We returned home," he adds, "with feelings that can be better imagined than described. The Dyaks said birds and dreams had been 'angat' (hot), consequently bad; the Malays (Saráwak) said if they had only been there the result would have been different; and the Europeans said—nothing."

In June the Raja determined to attack Sarebus direct unless the well-disposed portion of the tribe could regain the upper hand; a deputation from this party had been to Kuching to consult him. The following letter to Mrs. Templer was written while waiting to know the result of the ultimatum he had then returned:—

"The real cause of all this stir is that the Sarebus Dyaks are getting restless, and one party of eighteen bangkongs (large war boats) having got to the sea this year, others are resolved to follow the example. On our side we are resolute, not only to prevent their going out pirating, but to end a system of indiscriminate slaughter by land, which has no parallel but in the Thug system of India. I had wished to have postponed this inevitable outbreak till the Commission was over, but it is now impossible, and next month we attack Sarebus. It is like fighting a man in front, with one hand tied behind my back, and my eyes cast over my shoulder. If the Commission comes I shall attend it, and Brooke will take command. If it be delayed I shall go myself.

* "*Ten Years in Saráwak*," by Charles (Johnson) Brooke.

"The Sarebus had no sooner returned to consider their answer than the Balamini appeared on the coast for twenty-four hours, chased two boats of our people, and captured one prahu belonging to the Natunas, which had just come out of Saráwak laden with rice. This is the result of long-continued neglect on the part of our Government. These pirates have never ventured in the Saráwak waters since 1843, when Keppel's first advent taught them a lesson. They have never been to the southward of Labuan since 1847, when we cut them off with the *Nemesis*. The total withdrawal of all naval protection has encouraged them again, and I trust next year to give a good account of them without the assistance of our Government. Oh, for a small steamer to protect our people and trade! How little those silly people in England who yelp about peace and brotherly love, know the misery and bloodshed they cause by preventing the punishment of the guilty for the protection of the innocent!

"You may imagine that my mind is restless, though I have much leisure time. I can do nothing with satisfaction or with ease whilst it continues the pleasure of the Government to keep me in a state of suspense about the Commission.

"I fear this is anything but a *lady-like* letter, but I mention to you the events which have occurred, and which occupy my thoughts to the obstruction of more peaceful occupations. I steal away from business for a few days to my mountain home; the change is always agreeable. My love to the dear children.

"*June 26th.*—I have just received about thirty-five fowls from Shanghai; the ladies are angelic, the gentleman tall, but all in very bad condition. I will write more particulars shortly."

A letter now arrived with great State from Sultan Mumim, announcing his intended coronation to the Raja, and asking him to be present. "Nothing could be kinder."

A little later Mumim was in trouble by reason of another faction that had sprung up in his always factious capital; every one wished to dispose of everybody else, and the only

point of agreement was the desire that Brooke should settle matters. Probably Makota was an exception, for the oppressions and exactions in which he was indulging could not, as he was well aware, be peacefully carried on in the Raja's near neighbourhood; but Makota never found difficulty in concealing his opinions.

"You observe," Brooke wrote with reference to the condition of Brumé, "we have '*un homme gravement malade*,' but instead of killing my man, like the Czar, I am anxious to keep him alive."

He continues—"The Balanini have done an infinity of mischief all the way from Malludu, here, and onwards. Singapore suffers seriously from the depredations of pirates. The Sarebus have not yet concluded their 'baum,' or conference, on the vital question of peace or war. I shall be sincerely pleased if their decision be for peace, and I shall then gain time by diplomacy before I act against the delinquents who killed Lee in their attempt to force a passage to sea."

Brunéi, Sarebus, Sakarran, all heaving; the Balanini and Lanuns loose; together with the uncertainty of everything connected with the conduct of Lord Aberdeen's Government, and the fear that the Netherlands Government, already pressing their opportunity, might be yielded to, was bad enough; but the Raja wrote, June 30th, to Mr. W. H. Read—"I have a raw besides, worse than all, which I mean to settle and then let you know of." The letter closes with the refrain of all his letters now. "I long for the Commission—the suspense is a living and shameful injustice."

Two letters, to Mr. Templer and to Mr. Read, detail this "raw that was worse than all." It arose from the long-continued bad-conduct of the principal native officer of Saráwak, Patingi Gaffur; formerly one of Muda Hassim's rebellious chiefs, he had been reinstated by Brooke, to whom he owed the restoration of everything confiscated by Muda Hassim.

"But as he got rich there was no keeping him straight. His abuse of power, his oppressions of the people, his revival of ancient evils, his pretensions, his intrigues, his corruptions,

and his free use of my name for purposes of his own, had been often checked but never abandoned, and ever recurring. Some time ago, when I mentioned to you his malversations, he was seriously warned, and made to disgorge some ill-gotten wealth; but this, instead of preventing him, only urged him forward, and he not only intrigued against the Government, but, by threatening the better class of Saráwak people, thwarted our measures, and used language which was treasonable against every constituted authority. All this was foolishly as well as wickedly done, and, without a prospect of success, it still might have been in his power to disturb the peace and to plunge us into the troubles of civil war.

"I resolved, therefore, at once to degrade him from his office, so as to crush the seeds of discontent in the bud. I ordered a great public meeting of the country for an important business, but excepting Brooke, St. John, the Datu Bandar, Datu Tumangong, and a few others, no one in the country knew my object. The court was crowded, many hundreds being present. I gently explained the duty of the people towards the Government. I alluded to the past, the present happiness of all classes, the advantages of organization, and the crime committed by any one who failed in obedience to constituted authority, or desired to disturb the public peace. I pointed out to the elders of the kampongs, that, having received their authority from Government, they should not have yielded it to the Patingi; but at the same time I acquitted them of all evil intention, and declared—which was strictly true—that I knew their attachment to the Government.

"I then turned to the Patingi, and said that this was his doing. I reminded him of the past, the warnings he had received and neglected. I detailed the charges against him, and concluded by saying—'I accuse you before the people, of treason, and I give you the option of publicly declaring your submission to the Government or of death.'

"He submitted. I then said, 'I do not seek your life, for you are the Bandar's brother, and have many relatives my friends. I do not confiscate your property, for your wives and

children have not shared your offence. For the safety of the kingdom I order you to sit in your place in this court, whilst proper persons bring to the fort all the arms and ammunition which belong to you.' He sat quite quiet. I requested his near relatives to go and bring the guns and powder; I offered Patingi a cigar to console him, and after a couple of mortal long hours' sitting the things were brought. I then shook hands with the culprit, told him that what I had done was for the good of the people, and that he should hear further from me through the proper channel. He then retired to his house. Everything passed with perfect quietness, and proved to demonstration the great moral force possessed by the Government. This man, possessed of wealth and influence, from his position thoroughly acquainted with the native mind, surrounded by relatives, the best and bravest men amongst the Saráwak people, could not muster twenty men to espouse his quarrel; and since his downfall there has been a very general rejoicing, and a substantial improvement will follow. The great difficulty was to contrive some plan to remove him from the country without involving his innocent family. I cleverly bethought me of the Pilgrimage to Mecca. He jumped at the idea, and I trust in a month's time he will be on his way to the Holy City. Till he goes I watch him quietly, as a cat watches a mouse; for, spite of all professions, I know he would do me a mischief if he could, and I have too long an experience of his ways ever to trust him again with authority.

"It is a great measure accomplished. It is the practical test of the confidence of the people in their Government, and of the stability of the Government itself. But I may thank the British Ministry for the trial, and the necessity of exerting my power, as it is certain that, but for the vacillation of years, and the encouragement afforded to every evil-doer to subvert my power, the Patingi would not have thought of doing what he would fain have attempted had he dared. His expressions to those about him were that the steamers never come now, that the English Government had cast me off, that the Europ ans were few and the Malays many.

"There is no doubt of this. The English Government has thus encouraged sedition and assassination; and if I have to thank them for the trial, I have likewise to thank them for the opportunity of proving how deeply the roots of the Saráwak Government are implanted. Had it been otherwise, the death of any European here would fairly have rested at their door. We cannot tamper with distant interests without danger to those concerned; and, slight as may appear their responsibility to men, their responsibility to God will not be lessened.

"'All's well that ends well,' and we are now more firmly established than we have been at any time since 1848. The native people are true, and the native ministers to be relied on. You may fancy, with all these measures on hand, and the Commission suspended, how much I am tried; yet, nevertheless, I continue well."

Patingi Gaffur went to Singapore as the first stage of his pilgrimage, not without a clear foresight on the Raja's part that the Wise and Woods party might find him grist to their mill.

This matter, so far successfully over, he was further cheered by news from the Sarebus; the peaceful portion of the tribes had gained the day, and though that day might be short, yet for a time it would be vain for Rentap to look there for support.

Meanwhile, perplexing letters arrived from England. It appeared that Lord Ellesmere and Mr. Templer had had an interview of two hours at the Foreign Office with Lord Clarendon, the result of which was considered unexpectedly satisfactory. But from Mr. Templer there was no account, and those who wrote, evidently leaving to him to give all particulars, confined themselves to comments. In this indirect way the Raja gathered that Lord Clarendon had expressed a very high sense of his character, and had said that Lord Aberdeen entertained the same opinion. A steamer would be ordered for his moral support, and the Foreign Secretary had shown himself so cordial that, to the more sanguine, there seemed no shadow of doubt but that a full *amende* for the past would be made.

No further information could be received for a fortnight, and during that time the Raja allowed himself to hope. "If the Government is in earnest," he wrote to Mr. Templer, "and is going to make an *amende* to me, and to perform its treaty engagements with Borneo, and to pursue the policy it abandoned, so as to save the lives and liberty of this poor people, let it send out a small steamer at once; thirty men will do all the work, and then they may postpone matters and consider the subject for ten years to come; but the steamer must be under me and always on this coast. Do not be led away, by any good intentions or fair promises on the part of Government, to delay *my* steamer [previously ordered] for an hour. If it be necessary I shall sell *books*, plate, household gods, and furniture, to pay for this same steamer; and if she be arranged for, the sooner they begin the better."

On July 23rd the missing letter from Mr. Templer, delayed by accident at Singapore, arrived. It contained notes of a conversation between Lord Ellesmere and himself with the Foreign Secretary, at an interview granted by the latter on May 10th.

Lord Clarendon, Mr. Templer wrote, had not only disclaimed for himself and for the Prime Minister any hostile or adverse opinion of Sir James Brooke, but had spoken of him as one for whom they entertained "a great respect." He, himself, had read Captain Keppel's book, and he considered the Raja "everything that was noble," a "man to be proud of as a countryman." He must confess, however, that his opinion had been a little impaired by the way Sir James had spoken in his last interview. His words were that he, the Raja, should consider if he would *allow* the Commission to proceed, and that he would not be responsible for the lives of the Commissioners. At the same time he had gone far to remove the unfavourable impression then created. "Lord Clarendon had thought the inquiry would not be distasteful, and the best mode of ending the calumnies against him, and he was surprised at the way the Raja met it."

Regarding the instructions he had drawn them up himself, purposely avoiding "any expressions of an irritable nature."

To this Mr. Templer had replied that what required alteration were the statements as to the Raja's anomalous position, and its never having been recognized.

"Lord Clarendon said he thought it a fair question for inquiry, as the principle 'No man can serve two masters' might or might not be departed from under the circumstances. I [Mr. Templer] replied—a fair matter for decision certainly, but not for inquiry, as all facts are here; and referred to Earl Grey's testimony on the 'Inquiry on the Ordnance and Army Estimates' as conclusive upon everything having been communicated to the then Government as to the position in Borneo; and that Lord Grey had been expressly asked by Sir James Graham on that inquiry, if Sir James Brooke had been put to his choice between retaining his position at Saráwak or entering the service of England, which he would have chosen? and Lord Grey replied that he always understood the former.

"Lord Clarendon replied he had not seen it. I assured him that the inquiry on this point could neither add to nor detract from the facts which were conceded on both sides. It might be a fair question for decision upon those facts, not for inquiry; and if her Majesty's Government decided that the position was anomalous, so as to be detrimental to British interests, it would be reversing the decision of the three preceding Administrations."

Lord Clarendon's reply to this, if any, is not stated. He denied that Mr. Hume or Mr. Wise had the least influence with the Government. It was true that he had had an interview the previous year with Mr. Wise, but they (the Government) understood his character, and would have nothing to do with him. Before Mr. Templer's letters were received, it had been detected in the office that Mr. Wise's "*Papers printed for Use in the Government Offices*" could not be relied on, and that some were "simple forgeries."

"These papers," said Mr. Templer, "form part of the

instructions for the Commissioners, and their attention should be directed to this." Lord Clarendon replied that he was not aware of it, but all the papers that bore on the case had been sent.

Lord Clarendon had had no communication with Mr. Hume. That gentleman had been to the Foreign Office, and used intemperate language against Sir James Brooke, but was in no way encouraged. Regarding the Raja's resignation of his office, he (Lord Clarendon) had refused to accept it, thinking it a mistake, and one that would be taken advantage of by enemies. "Did your lordship tell him so, or merely leave his resignation unreplied to?" asked Mr. Templer. Lord Clarendon said the latter, but he had indirectly sent him a verbal message.

If this friendly feeling really existed, urged Lord Ellesmere and Mr. Templer, might not a practical proof be given—such as a steamer for the protection of the Borneon coast pending the Commission, with some communication of a friendly character to the Raja? Sarebus and Sakarran were again breaking out, and in self-defence he would be obliged to take active measures.

"Lord Clarendon paused and said, 'I think it might be done. It is not unreasonable,' but he demurred to the word protection.

"Lord Ellesmere then asked in what position the Commission stood. Sir James Brooke and his friends were ignorant whether it was going on, and its delay was a vital injury to him.

"Lord Clarendon said that there had been a difficulty in obtaining Commissioners, but two gentlemen were found, and it would proceed immediately. I [Mr. Templer] said I trusted there would be no further delay, and that all the witnesses who were material would be directed to attend. Many were admirals and captains in this country, and this would render a supplemental Commission necessary here.

"Lord Clarendon did not make any reply to this." Regarding some proof of the good-will of the Government, he would

communicate at once with Sir James Graham on the subject, and, if it could be done consistently with the distribution of force, a steamer, "not, perhaps, for protection, but for Sir James Brooke's *moral support*, should be sent."

To Mr. Templer the result of the interview appears to have been a feeling of great satisfaction. The abrupt termination of his correspondence with the Foreign Office nine months before, and the whole action of the Government towards his friend, had given him no grounds for expecting eulogiums. Yet these had been uttered, and, better still, an assurance made that if the inquiry terminated favourably the Raja might have any appointment or position he chose.

He wrote, therefore, by the first mail cheerily, but little dreamed that the echo of the Minister's praise, eagerly caught up and circulated at home would reach first, while the full particulars, that would have enabled the Raja to draw his own conclusion, lagged behind.

Brooke's reply is dated Saráwak, July 24, 1854:—

"After twenty-four hours' consideration, I cannot regard this subject in the light which you appear to have done, and I shall therefore note down my views upon it. The conversation may be fairly divided into two portions so far as regards Lord Clarendon and the Government.

"1st. Compliments and professions. To these I attach no weight, because they are substantially the same in effect as Lord Clarendon made to me immediately before he penned the instructions, the dishonesty of which he continues unable to perceive.

"2ndly. A *sort* of assurance that when the Commission shall have terminated favourably, spite of its unfairness, Lord Clarendon would become my advocate, with his colleagues, in order that they may 'do me justice;' and 'to mark their sense of what I have gone through,' he [Lord Clarendon] considered the Government should meet my wishes in any way, either by giving me the appointment mentioned,* or by placing me in a position most agreeable to my wishes."

* An appointment of the same, or of a similar nature, to that contemplated for him by the Government of Lord Derby.

"To this I reply, that when the Commission, based upon false instructions, shall be at an end, I will hold no intercourse whatever with the British Government; and that the unreserved and public recognition of Saráwak must be preliminary to any communication it desires to have with me.

"This is a *sine quâ non*.

"I observe throughout this conversation no concession, no expression of regret, no *amende* for injustice, no definition of the charges, no retraction of false statement, no modification of the instructions or explanation of the Government, no promise that the witnesses I demand shall be furnished, or elucidation how a Commission is to decide and report when the evidence is wanting.

"Lord Clarendon's statements, as I read them, amount to this:—That when the attempt to ruin me, which the Government pushes to the last and most unfair extremity, shall have failed, Lord Clarendon may be able to evade the consequences of his act by resorting to a tardy and ineffectual dole of justice.

"With this view, and to avert the betrayal which I believe to be intended, I shall meet the Commission in a spirit as distrustful and hostile as the instructions which Lord Clarendon has not thought fit to modify or withdraw.

"I cannot believe, or, believing, cannot allow it to influence my course, that the Ministry would dare to tamper secretly with the Commission by privately explaining or modifying the instructions, or expressing a wish as to the mode of conducting the proceedings. I have every reason to complain of Lord Clarendon, but I would not suspect him of such a crime. I did tell Lord Clarendon, and I am proud of it, that I would consider whether I would permit the Commission, or, rather, the expression was, 'that it rested upon my generosity to grant or to refuse the Commission,' very nearly these words. I did say that I would not answer for the lives of the Commissioners. How could I tell where they were going, or what they intended to do or say? And, by heavens! with my passions roused, if they were insolent, I would not answer for my not

striking them in open court. Men's passions for evil and for good are not to be measured like yards of red tape, or weighed like reams of foolscap by any stationer in Downing Street.

"I told Lord Clarendon what he did not tell you—namely, that I should never trust in the English Government again. It is true, and ever to be repeated and borne in mind, that I have a deep settled distrust both in the men and in their measures. They caused the murder of Muda Hassim, and they have done their best, and are still doing their best, to destroy me.

"My resignation was absolute. Lord Clarendon was not justified in playing the farce of not accepting it. It required no acceptation, but was a fact accomplished; and I can be no more forced to perform the duties of the appointment I flung in his face than a horse can be forced to drink, or a man can be forced to believe again. What is meant by sending a ship of war for my protection, coupled with the qualification, 'not perhaps, for protection so much as for the moral support it would give?' Is this ship of war belonging to the Peace Society? Are her men and her guns Quakers! Is she to bring a cargo of tracts and cambric pocket-handkerchiefs? Is she always to threaten when danger is afar off, and refuse to act when there is fighting to do?—poor, poor, gallant navy! Is she to be guided by the Admiralty orders to foster pirates and encourage piracy?

"What is moral government—the government of God—but a system of rewards and punishments? What is a moral support but an active co-operation to advance good and suppress evil? If anything else but this be meant, the protection to be afforded is a pretence, derogatory to the English navy, and dangerous to me; for, as I believe I told you before, the natives are sagacious enough to know a scarecrow from a living man, and I, for one, would never impose upon them, to be detected and betrayed at the moment when action and energy were needed.

"I believe, my dear Jack, I have exhausted my subject.

Do not think me irritable and ungrateful for what you have done. It is as my friends are drawn into a focus that I learn to be kindly in proportion to my distrust of the mass of animals. Lord Grey and Lord Ellesmere have truly been friends to value, and if I disagree in my views as to Lord Clarendon's intentions in the conversation which passed, and as to my future proceedings, it is from the total, and I fear irrecoverable, want of confidence I entertain towards the Government.

"The Commission will make the breach wider than the Danube, and deeper than the Baltic!

"I cannot reconcile my mind to ever accepting any beggarly appointment from this Government, or, indeed, any other. I did so before, as you well know, in the full confidence of finding support to carry out objects which I still hold to be the noblest in the world, and, verily, I have had my reward. These objects I will never abandon whilst I have life, but it is by other and more independent means that I must strive to advance them—always with this qualification, that the fate of nations, great or small, or man's life or man's suffering, are as *nothing* when weighed in the balance against the principles of our moral existence. The one is but the thing of a day, the other the eternal decree of good as opposed to evil.

"*25th.*—Is my letter of yesterday savage? Mayhap it is; but you know you cannot always have me smiling and complacent, and my correspondence would not be what it is in its unreserve were I to smother my feelings. I am free to confess that, hearing before I received your letter that your interview with Lord Clarendon had been highly satisfactory, etc., etc., I had hoped and concluded that the Government would pass over the bridge you had built for them, and cancel the orders for the inquiry. Such a course would have opened the way for peace between us. It would have prevented the disgrace of trial, and it would have vindicated my reputation as declaring that the Government could find no grounds to proceed with an inquiry hastily resolved on. Had the Cabinet declared

itself mistaken, in gentle, and lady-like, and mincing terms, there would have been grounds for reconciliation; but it is not so, the contest is to be carried to extremity, and there will be no footing for the dove with an olive-branch in its bill. They must swallow dirt; and if the little I said to Lord Clarendon shook the opinion of the Ministers in my character, what character with them shall I have after my say before the Commission?

"I will write no more, for you will observe that I suffer from a burning indignation, an unquenched flame of nearly two years' consuming power, by night and by day—smothered and unseen, but fiery sense of wrong done, feelings outraged, confidence betrayed, injustice perpetrated, power abused—and then, *then perhaps*, I am to be rewarded with beggarly honours, base appointments, and filthy wages. Let Ministers deck me with a pile of strawberry or gooseberry leaves—let them pour into my treasury all the enormous sums wasted in Parliamentary papers, and sacrificed by vicious or imbecile measures—what good will it do me or them? Will these things insure honesty or restore confidence? Where injury is done by those appointed to administer justice, it is still injury under the pretence and form of law and Government; and, the sufferer having no appeal on earth, the only remedy in such cases is an appeal to Heaven. This is the substance of what Locke says, which I read but the other day—and so be it—for time is but a second in eternity.

"These sentiments—or feelings, if it please you—spring to my pen. The Commission I care nothing for. I shall vindicate my innocence and uprightness. But if it be not my disgrace, it will be an eternal dishonour—if they have any honour—to Ministers. The alternative is not of my choosing.

"I have walked about for an hour to cool myself—now to business."

After this "long and strong letter," as he called it later, he started in the month of August for the Sakarran. If the Commission reached Singapore before his return it must just

wait. The call to arms brought between seven and eight thousand Malays and Dyaks to his side. A difficult work lay before them; for, besides Rentap's people openly in opposition, there were other tribes that had refused to promise neutrality, reserving to themselves the right of joining the successful side. Datu Tumangong of Saráwak was therefore detached, with six prahus, in the direction of the Sarebus, while Mr. Steel, one of the Raja's officers (who has not been yet mentioned), left the fort at Kanowit of which he was in charge, and which had been thrice attacked, and, with fifteen hundred men, advanced up the Kajulo River to prevent the Kajulos reinforcing Rentap; while the Raja, with the main body, leaving the Sakarran fort, ascended that river for about thirty miles to a place called Entaban. The heavy prahus were only brought thus far with great difficulty, and beyond this it was impossible to drag them. So here a stockade was erected, and here the Raja remained, leaving to Captain Brooke the post of honour and the conduct of the advance. With him went his brother Charles, Mr. Arthur Crookshank, Mr. Brereton, and four other Englishmen. Rentap was on a spur of Sadok Mountain, called Sungei Lang, and thither the force pressed on; some, the canny Sakarrans, going by water, and the rest by land. Either way was bad enough, but the land journey was almost impracticable. It was done, however, Sungei Lang reached, and Rentap wounded and driven for the time out of his stronghold, the very strength of which made the defeat the more important in its effect on the country. This spur of Sadok Mountain is five hundred feet high; at its top were three enclosures proof against grape and musketry, and surrounding a village of which every house was stockaded. Two narrow paths, falling away steep on either side, formed the only approach, and these were filled with spikes, and commanded by guns and muskets; while fifteen yards from the muzzles of the guns was a ditch ten feet broad and five feet deep, with every obstructive at its bottom.

The enemy being driven out, Rentap's eyrie was occupied for a couple of days, after which the force returned in triumph

to Entaban, where the good news had already reached the Raja.

"I am proud of the achievement," he wrote (August 24th) to Mr. Templer; "it will establish Brooke's character as a leader, and it will be another sledge-hammer blow at the system of piracy and indiscriminate murder; and, now that I am unshackled by the trammels of office, the blow shall be repeated until the many-headed monster submits his neck to the yoke of human society, and till the peaceful may pursue their avocations without danger."

Datu Tumangong, on his return, reported well of Sarebus: the most piratically disposed chief, one Pamancha, had died; the Malays and Dyaks in the lower part of the river were well disposed, and the fall of the big chief's stronghold would keep the rest quiet.

The only drawback was the sickness that broke out after the return to Saráwak—the effect of exposure through nights of heavy rain, following days of most arduous labour. Mr. Brereton had been ill before of dysentery, and now became wôrse.

From 1849 to 1852 no vessel of the Royal Navy visited Saráwak or its neighbourhood. In 1852, being the year of Lord Derby's Administration, Captain the Hon. J. Spencer brought H.M.S. *Conquest* (twelve guns) to Kuching; afterwards, with one of his boats, and a Saráwak Government pinnace manned by his crew, accompanying Captain Brooke, Mr. C. Johnson, and Mr. Spenser St. John, up the Batang Lupar as far as the Sakarran.

Two years had passed since then, with no sight of an English flag, no steamer for "moral support;" but three days after the return to Kuching from Sadok, H.M. brig *Lily* came up the river. The Commissioners were expected at Singapore, and Captain Saunderson was sent by Captain Elliot to take the Raja to his trial. He was ready; but first he called his people together—Malays, Dyaks, Chinese, Klings, and the little band of Europeans. The Commission, he said, of which

he had told them before, was arrived, and he must go and meet it. He was accused of great crimes, of oppression, and of misrule. He would try and persuade the Commissioners to come to Saráwak, when all there might speak for themselves. If he had wronged any man, now was the time for such to seek redress. He could not tell what his own future might be, but, whatever became of him, they must maintain their independence and support a Government of their own choice.

"You should have seen the working of these Malay countenances, the savage gleam in these Malay eyes. It would not have done Lord Clarendon's heart good had he been present. If it had pleased me, I *felt* that I could have worked the people to the dangerous point.

"Is it not sad," he continues, to Mr. Templer, "to think that all they know of noble and good and corrective in government should be called in question by the very Government which I have told them for years is civilized and trustworthy? They cannot understand how it has come about, but their instinct assures them that there is something very wrong, and destroys that confidence which it once was my pride to inculcate.

"Let it pass. I am not in a passion of indignation now —reflection and self-examination bring me right, and sadly it is needed."

After this the *Lily* took him to Singapore.

September 9th he wrote thence—"I was sorry to leave St. John, Grant, and Brereton very ill, but, all three being better, and past I trust all danger, I am hopeful of receiving good accounts, or even of seeing the two former by the next vessel. The news from Labuan is, as usual, bad. A fleet of Lanuns had for some time been collected at Pulo Tiga (within thirty miles of the island), and, it was said, had built huts, or, according to one report, forts there. The Lanuns know that I am out of office and rejoice; even the people of Singapore feel it and regret. The change here is great in the English community. I am already becoming popular, according to that generous but silly instinct which belongs to our countrymen.

I know the standard by which to measure their praise and their blame, and my quarrel is not with the weak and well-intentioned, but with a vicious and dishonest Government. You will have another letter detailing five or six days' proceedings. *I* think it will be all *bosh*."

The Commissioners appointed by the Viceroy of India in Council, were Charles R. Prinsep, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, and Advocate-General of Bengal, and the Honourable Humphrey Bohun Devereux, of the Bengal Civil Service.

For a month previous to their arrival, a notification had been publicly affixed, stating the objects of the Commission. These have been already given in Lord Clarendon's letter to Sir Charles Wood, from which the notice was evidently drawn up. One addition only occurs. Lord Clarendon wrote—"It will be the duty of the Commissioners to inquire into the accusations brought against Sir James Brooke by British subjects," etc.; in the notification this runs—"any accusations which have been or may be brought," etc.

The Raja was in ignorance as to whether or not the original instructions of the Foreign Secretary had been modified; an answer on this point, as well as to his request for witnesses, having been evaded. He therefore applied to the Commissioners on the subject, and was answered that there would be no objection to his reading any documents in their possession, with the exception of their "private instructions," to which, of course, access could not be allowed.

The nature of these private instructions, and how far, if at all, they bore on the original, remained a mystery. In any case, so long as they continued secret, they could not be held to abrogate those of which the Raja had received a copy from the Foreign Office direct; and in consequence he determined to lay before the Commissioners a protest previously drawn up, but which he was prepared to withhold had the instructions even at the last hour been rendered more true to facts. "I know it will do me a great deal of harm in a worldly point of view," he wrote to Mr. Templer, "but I will express what I think to be right, and stigmatize what I know to be wrong."

"PROTEST.

"I herewith enter my protest against the despatch of June 21, 1853,* addressed by the Earl of Clarendon to Sir Charles Wood, containing the instructions upon which this Commission is based.

"I protest against these instructions—that they are opposed to facts; illegal, as requiring this Commission to determine the law of England; in violation of the principles of justice; and calculated to excite erroneous impressions on the minds of the Commissioners.

"1. In reference to the first paragraph of the despatch in question, I remark that the 'anomalous position' which I occupied was established by the Ministers of her Majesty's present Government, who were aware, when they placed me in it, that I held the territory of Saráwak, and administered the government and revenue of that country.

"I protest, therefore, against this 'anomalous position' being now assigned as a reason for inquiry, by the Ministers who formerly resorted to that expedient for the public good.

"I protest, likewise, against the assumption that 'certain inconveniences had then arisen;' because the anomaly, which had been terminated, could have no practical reference to the future convenience or inconvenience of the public service, or to the future advantage or disadvantage of the 'commercial interests of Great Britain,' as affected by the position which I had been encouraged to accept, which I had retained so long as I possessed the confidence of her Majesty's Government, and which I resigned when that confidence was withdrawn.

"I further protest against this allegation of 'certain inconveniences' having arisen from 'certain anomalies' in the position I did not hold when this Commission was issued, because it not only disguises the fact that the inconveniences alleged had been previously unknown and unheard of, but, likewise, because it conceals from the Commissioners that her Majesty the Queen had been graciously pleased to reward the efforts I had made; that her Majesty's Ministers had acknow-

* See page 89, vol. ii.

ledged the services rendered to the nation; and that the policy which I had initiated, as well as the measures it involved, had invariably been sanctioned and approved by the three preceding administrations of Government.

"2. I object to the assertion contained in the second paragraph of the despatch of the Earl of Clarendon, to the purport that I originally held certain possessions under the Sultan of Borneo; but now, according to my own statement, that I hold those possessions independently, by the free-will of the people of Saráwak.

"I except to this assertion, as being opposed to my statements, wherein I have maintained, as I still maintain, that the cession made by a sovereign unable to rule his subjects, I held to be a title *de jure* of small value; whilst the title derived from the will and support of a free people was considered by me to be of superior importance.

"I protest, therefore, against any construction, forced upon my words, which implies or infers that the title *de facto* derived from the people supersedes or invalidates the title *de jure* acquired under cession from the Sultans of Borneo; and, further, I protest that I have never claimed, as stated, to be considered one of the independent Rajas of the country; but, on the contrary, having for a period of years, under the double title set forth, administered the government, I have been contented to explain the position I occupied, and to maintain the right of the people of Saráwak to manage the affairs of their own country.

"3. I protest against the seventh paragraph of Lord Clarendon's despatch for the reasons above mentioned, and because the position which I hold in Saráwak has been recognised for eleven years past as being compatible with my character as a British subject, both by the Government and by the people of England; and because the validity of that position, after the sanctions it has received, cannot be questioned by any inquiry, or affected by any conclusion which this Commission may make or arrive at. I solemnly protest against the question of my right, under any plea or pretence, or

by any inquiry or decision, or by any illegal proceeding or arbitrary act; and I maintain that my position at Saráwak, being compatible with the laws of England, must therefore be compatible with my character as a British subject; and that this Commission is an incompetent and illegal tribunal to declare or to reverse the laws of Great Britain, or to determine or to infringe the rights of the subject as by law established.

"4. I protest against the eighth paragraph of the despatch in question, as being opposed to facts, and because it can be demonstrated that her Majesty's Government, with the knowledge they possessed of my position, and by the acts they performed or sanctioned relative thereto, could not have considered the possession of Saráwak to be, as alleged, 'a private grant bestowed by a foreign sovereign upon a British subject;' but, on the contrary, that their acts prove the British Government to have been cognisant of my holding the territory of Saráwak—of my administering the government of that country, and exercising various functions of a public nature, irreconcilable with a private position or proprietorship; and that, with this knowledge, it not only defended the 'rights' and 'possessions' which it declared I had acquired 'in the most legitimate and open manner,'* when called in question by a foreign State, but publicly recorded its conviction that 'her Majesty's Government looked upon my position at Saráwak not as the result of a premeditated scheme, but of unforeseen emergencies, in which I had been enabled to exercise great energy, temper, and singleness of purpose, without on that account having made myself liable to the reproach of any one.'† And, further, I declare that her Majesty's Government was acquainted with the negotiations carried on by me, on the part of Saráwak, with the Envoy of the United States of America, and that no objection was perceived—so far as Great Britain was concerned—to the conclusion of the treaty proposed by that nation;‡ and, although informed of the public

* The Earl of Aberdeen to M. Dedel, December 10, 1845.
† The Earl of Aberdeen to M. Dedel, May 4, 1846.
‡ Lord Palmerston to Sir James Brooke.

recognition of the State of Saráwak, and of my position as its head, by the President of the United States, that far from objecting to this recognition, her Majesty's Government acquiesced therein; and, moreover, that for the purpose of advancing the commercial interests of Great Britain, her Majesty's Government had previously sought to avail itself of 'my relations with Saráwak,' and had, in consistency with its other acts, sanctioned the hoisting of a Saráwak flag, in order to afford 'a recognized permanency to that country.'

"I appeal, therefore, to the public acts and to the recorded declarations of the preceding Governments of England, in proof that my possession of Saráwak had never and could never have been considered as 'a private grant bestowed by a foreign sovereign upon a British subject;' and as conclusive demonstration that the sanctions directly and indirectly given, during a period of years, by the British Government and by the British nation to this possession and to my position as the head of the Government of that country, are in manifest contradiction of the allegation now for the first time advanced in the despatch of the Earl of Clarendon.

"I protest against an inquiry which, on the one hand, is an interference with the affairs of a foreign Government, and which, on the other hand, is an unprecedented infringement on the admitted right of private property.

"5. I object to the statement contained in the ninth paragraph of Lord Clarendon's despatch, viz., that the Commissioners will have to inquire whether the interests of Sir James Brooke 'as a holder of territory, and as a trader in the produce of that territory, are compatible with his duties as Consul and Commisioner for Trade,' because it assumes as a fact the subject matter of the present enquiry, as stated in the 2nd paragraph of the same despatch; and I protest against it, because her Majesty's Government has been aware, during the last twelve years, that I administered the revenue of Saráwak, and, being possessed of that knowledge, has declared that 'there was no one to whom the protection and encouragement of the general interests of British commerce in the Eastern

Archipelago could be more safely entrusted.'* And I further protest against the concealment of the real circumstances of the case by the change of a name, and by the assumption of a fact, at a time when my resignation of the public service, previously to the inauguration of the Commission, had rendered inquiry upon this point useless for any practical purpose.

"6. I protest against the tenth paragraph of the despatch, that it contains an invitation, issued under the sanction of her Majesty's Government, to every accuser, to bring forward charges, past and present, whether grave or trivial, criminal or civil, without reference to the *primâ facie* evidence requisite to justify their reception. I protest against such a proceeding, as being unwarranted; and I insist that, to be consistent with justice, the accusers thus authorized in a public or private capacity to institute charges, with or without evidence in their support, shall be summoned to meet me face to face, and that these accusers shall not be screened by reason of absence, or from any other cause or pretence, from the responsibility they may incur in the prosecution of their task; and, further, should any accusation be advanced by a corporate body, I protest that one or more members of the corporation be called upon to support the allegations made, so that an opportunity be afforded of substantiating before the Commission the conduct of such corporation, and the character of the directors entrusted with the management of its affairs.

"I herewith solemnly protest, and I appeal to the Commissioners in this behalf, against this inquiry being conducted save in accordance with the principles sanctioned by law as a safeguard to the subject, whether in criminal procedure or judicial inquest.

"I claim as an act of justice, and I demand as a matter of right:—

"(i.) That the accuser be confronted with the accused.

"(ii.) That the charges be defined.

"(iii.) That *primâ facie* testimony, sufficient to warrant the reception of a charge, shall be submitted to the Commission,

* Mr. Shaw Lefevre to Mr. Buchanan, March 15, 1848.

and that a list of the witnesses in support of each charge shall be furnished to the accused.

"(iv.) That the witnesses in every case shall be summoned before the Commission.

"(v.) That the accused shall not be deprived of the evidence necessary for his justification; and,

"(vi.) That the inquiry be 'full, fair, and complete,' before a judgment be pronounced.

"I appeal to the Commissioners, in the upright discharge of the duty imposed upon them, to adopt these and other similar precautions founded on the principles of justice and of law, to protect me from the flagrant wrong to be apprehended from the unprecedented nature of the inquiry, and from the ill-defined character of the instructions upon which it was based.

"7. In reference to the eleventh paragraph of Lord Clarendon's despatch, I deny, so far as I can understand the same, that personally I maintain, as therein alleged, any 'relations' with the native tribes on the north-west coast of Borneo; nor am I aware of any relations excepting such as have been established by the British Government, or by the Government of Bruné, for the suppression of piracy and for the protection of commerce. And I declare that I have never, as is erroneously asserted, been entrusted with any discretion to determine which of the said tribes or communities were piratical or otherwise; but, on the contrary, that this discretion has been exercised by her Majesty's Government, or by the naval Commander-in-Chief, in accordance with established usage; and I refer to the official records, and to the instructions which I have from time to time received, in confirmation of this statement.

"I protest, moreover, against the ambiguity of this clause of the despatch, which renders it impracticable to found any inquiry on it excepting by means of other and secret instructions of which I am kept in ignorance; but if, as I am left to surmise, a reference be intended to the piratical or non-piratical character of the Sarebus and Sakarran communities, I protest against this evasive mode of raising a simple and

direct question, and I insist that the piratical character of the said communities had been conclusively decided by the Government of the late Sir Robert Peel, previous to my employment in the public service of England, and that this decision was arrived at on the 'fullest proof that that the parties in question were actually and habitually pirates,' * without reference to my testimony, and without my knowledge that such proof had been obtained.

"I further insist that the piratical character of the Sarebus and Sakarran communities has been established by the decision of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Judicature of Singapore; that it has been avowed by the authorities of Netherlands India; and confirmed by the approval of Lord John Russell's Government of the punishment inflicted on them; and, moreover, that the motions from time to time made for a Commission of Inquiry on this subject have invariably been negatived by Parliament, from the conclusive evidence adduced of the fact.

"I protest, therefore, against an allegation which, by investing me with a discretionary power I never possessed, arrives indirectly at an inquiry directly refused by Parliament, and fixes on me the responsibility, which, by his own express declaration, attaches to the Earl of Aberdeen.

"Protesting against the inquiry thus raised, and against the responsibility thus imposed, I, nevertheless, in consideration of the public good, and to satisfy the recent doubts of her Majesty's Ministers, consent to offer fresh proofs that the communities of Sarebus and Sakarran were 'actually and habitually pirates,' and that the punishment inflicted upon them was a just and lenient measure.

"8. I protest against the seventeenth paragraph of the despatch in question, because the desire on my part, to which it refers, to advance the objects of this inquiry, arose from the assurances offered by the Earl of Aberdeen and by the Earl of Clarendon, as recorded in my despatch of April 4, 1853; and I herewith declare that I hold myself liberated from any

* The Earl of Aberdeen to M. Dedel, December 10, 1845; also May 9, 1845.

pledge therein given, in consequence of the non-fulfilment of the assurances I received, the character of the instructions, and the nature of the Commission.

"9. In reference to the concluding paragraph of Lord Clarendon's despatch, I protest against the transmission of a letter from Mr. Hume addressed directly or indirectly to the Commissioners, as establishing a communication between the accuser and the judges; and I protest against any recommendations made or any suggestions offered by the accuser relative to the conduct or direction of the Commission, as being a violation of the essential principles of justice; and I demand again, that Mr. Hume, in his character of accuser, be summoned to attend before the Commission, that he may support the accusations he has preferred; that I may be enabled to convict him of having, in defiance of reason and of testimony, unjustifiably persisted in maintaining false and calumnious charges, injurious alike both to public and private interests.

"I protest against unsupported assertions being indiscriminately adopted as accusations, and against any inquiry into transactions, when after a lapse of years the principal actors and only witnesses have been removed by death.

"I protest against instructions extended to subjects the most varied and the least compatible, and which, by warrant of an Order in Council, authorize an inquiry within the territories of a foreign sovereign, indifferently, into allegations of crime; into the performance of official duty; into the complaints of private persons; into the measures of preceding Governments; into the relations of national policy; into the asserted inconvenience to the public service; and into the possible advantage to be gained by the commercial interests of Great Britain.

"I protest against this unprecedented proceeding, because I claim to be absolved from the imputations cast upon me previously to being called upon to consider how far the welfare of the native communities may in future be reconciled with the interests of British commerce or with the policy of the British Government.

"I appeal to the Commissioners, in the discharge of their

duty, to limit the functions of their office within the powers vested in the Crown by the Treaty of 1847 with Borneo; and I not only deny that any power is granted (as assumed) by that treaty to warrant such an inquiry as her Majesty's Ministers have now directed to be made, but I protest against the exercise of a jurisdiction within the dominions of the Sultan of Borneo, except in 'certain cases' specifically mentioned in the additional article of the treaty in question, and against the assertion of an authority within the territory of Saráwak, which country, although included within the dominions of Borneo, possesses, and possessed, a distinct jurisdiction, previously to the formation of the treaty with Great Britain. But in making this protest against an illegal procedure, I declare at the same time that every facility shall be afforded to the Commission to examine witnesses, whether European or native, and to obtain the information requisite to determine the truth on the various subjects of inquiry.

"I enter this my protest against the instructions issued by the Earl of Clarendon in his despatch of June 21, 1853, as being inconsistent with facts; as illegal, in directing a decision on a point of law, and in granting an unwarranted jurisdiction in a foreign country; as in violation of justice; as evasive of the principal subject of inquiry; as clothed in obscure and ambiguous language; and as being opposed to the acts and declarations of the preceding Governments of England; and, in support of this my protest, I hand to the Commissioners various documents relating to the subjects referred to, and I offer to make good by evidence the statements therein contained.

"(Signed) J. Brooke."

CHAPTER XXIII.

1854.

The Commission was opened on Monday, September 11th. The Grand Jury Room and Recorder's Room were refused by the local authorities, to the Commissioners, who were, in consequence, forced to make use of the Court House, at the risk of increasing among the natives the belief that the proceedings would be of the nature of a judicial trial.

On a line with the Commissioners, but at a separate table, sat the Raja, a third and larger table being provided for accusers and witnesses.

Preliminaries over, Sir James Brooke rose and handed in his protest against the instructions of Lord Clarendon. This had been previously seen by the Commissioners, and Mr. Prinsep, the senior, remarked that it was not necessary for them to read it. They would forward it with their report, but, having been deputed to make certain inquiries, they must carry out their instructions.

To this the Raja answered that he need not remind the Commission that there were principles more sacred than the instructions of a Secretary of State. He had entered his protest in order that, should the Commissioners be misled by instructions such as those, or should he be deprived of the rights which he claimed, an appeal might be made to a higher tribunal.

Mr. Prinsep replied that the Commission could only make the inquiry directed, but that Sir James Brooke might rest assured that everything would be done consistent with justice.

The Raja said he had no doubt that it would be so as far as the powers of the Commission extended. The protest was then accepted.

Mr. Prinsep after this stated that two charges had been received, which the Commissioners conceived to be inadmissible,* and another paper had just been handed in, which however, was not a charge, and which they had not yet been able to consider. They were now ready to enter upon the business of the Commission if any other person would come forward and make a charge against Sir James Brooke, or bring forward any matter falling within the Commission.

After a pause of half an hour, as if in expectation of some one advancing, and no movement being made, Mr. Prinsep rose again and proposed to adjourn until Thursday, on which day, if the parties who had made those charges which the Commissioners at present thought did not fall within the scope of their Commission, should think it proper to come forward, the Commissioners would be glad to hear them urge any reasons or arguments against the decision which the Commissioners had at present come to, and in the mean time, written communications would be sent to these parties intimating the present opinion of the Commissioners of the inadmissibility of their charges.

Mr. Woods, editor of the *Straits Times*, then came forward and asked the Commissioners if they would indicate the heads of the charges which they would take up under the Commission. The Commissioners replied by referring him to the Commission itself, the advertisement of which had been before the public for a month previously; they could give no other definition of the nature of the charges; and if any uncertainty on the point existed, the only method to be followed

* 1. Reconsideration of Case of Lieutenant-Governor Napier. The inquiry on the Lieutenant-Governor of Labuan, alluded to in a letter from the Raja already given (vol. ii., page 3), had terminated in his removal. He was at this time a law-agent at Singapore. 2. Consideration of the Correspondence between Sir James Brooke and the Court of Judicature on Mr. Woods' appointment as Deputy Sheriff. Mr. Woods had lost his appointment from the disapproval of the Home Government.

was for persons having grievances to submit them to the Commissioners, who would then say whether they considered them within the scope of the Commission.

Mr. Prinsep expressed some disappointment that, after the public notice which had been given, the parties accusing Sir James Brooke should not have been ready with their charges against him.

Mr. Woods observed that this sitting was merely preliminary—to open the Commission.

Mr. Prinsep said it was both preliminary and also to proceed to business; but, as matters stood, all they could do was to adjourn to another day.

Thursday, September 14*th.*—The Commissioners again sat, and Sir James Brooke was present. Mr. Prinsep declared they were ready to hear charges: that no others had been sent beyond those formerly mentioned, and that the parties preferring these, having received written answers from the Commissioners, did not seem to come forward to urge their reception.

Here there was a pause for some little time, after which—no one coming forward—Mr. Prinsep remarked that it certainly appeared to the Commissioners somewhat extraordinary that, after the petition which had been sent from Singapore so numerously signed, and in consequence of which the inquiry had been instituted, no one should bring a charge against Sir James Brooke, or offer any substantiation of the charges previously made. Her Majesty had paid a high compliment to those demanding this inquiry against a servant upon whom she had conferred great distinction, and it not only seemed extraordinary to him, but would appear very unaccountable to people at home, that after they (the Commissioners) had been sent at great expense to inquire into the validity of those charges, there should not appear a single soul to bring them before the Commission. As for what her Majesty's Ministers would think, it was not for him to conjecture. If no charge was brought forward, all the Commissioners could do was to report the fact, in which case

Sir James Brooke must be held to have been blameless in all the points urged against him, and to have duly merited the honourable notice and rewards conferred. In the mean time, the Commission would adjourn to another day, and by that time the Commissioners trusted that if there were to be any charges brought against Sir James Brooke, they might be forthcoming. If no one should then appear, the Commissioners must then proceed to other points of inquiry under the Commission, which were matters with which the public had almost no concern, being rather matters between the Crown and Sir James Brooke, upon which the Commission were to transmit a report for the information of her Majesty.

On the part of Sir James Brooke, it was then asked, whether it was to be understood that the Commissioners would limit the time within which accusations should be brought, to that or any other day. Mr. Prinsep said the Commissioners were not then prepared to limit the time. They would not precipitate the inquiry—some persons might be absent, some were dead—accusations might be brought.

Sir James Brooke suggested that if the Commission waited till everybody at Singapore was satisfied, it would sit for the next ten years.

The Commission was then adjourned till Tuesday, September 19th.

Between these two sittings, the Raja had taken refuge "in a most delicious solitude in the country, where Mr. Jarvie has been kind enough to give me a room," and—he wrote to Mr. Templer, September 13th—"I am lazy, and lazily acknowledge your welcome letter of August 8th. I leave the dealing with the malefactors in England in your hands. I only keep steadily in mind that I have a cottage in the mountains where I always enjoy peace of mind. There is a noble faith and confidence in the people of Saráwak, and an honesty in the Government of Brunéi which other Governments might imitate with advantage." Then comes an account of matters the substance of which has beeen given; and then—"I hope

you will enjoy yourselves thoroughly in Scotland. Had I been with you I should have voted for all the children going too, because Hannah would not then screw an eye over the sinister shoulder, amid the mountains and the lochs. I am obliged to be selfish in my letters, for I can think of nothing, and write of little else, beyond the crisis of my fortunes, through which we are bravely battling.

"*September 16th.*—Last evening Charley Grant and St. John arrived, both weak but convalescent. A letter from Brooke informs me that Brereton was slowly recovering, and that the *funk* established amongst the piratical Dyaks was complete. It has been a great blow—as great by land as the one of 1849 by sea. These countries are in a fair way of having the bondage of human society imposed upon them, but they will require watching. Don't forget the steamer. Next year the Balanini and the Lanuns will be upon us.

"Love to Hannah and the dear children. When the Commission is over, and I am refreshed like a giant after rest, I will correspond about chickens!!"

Meanwhile a correspondence had been going on between the Commissioners, Mr. Woods, and Mr. Napier, in which the last urged that their respective cases should be entered into on the ground that both were referred to in a letter from Mr. Hume to Lord Clarendon, of April 30, 1853, which letter had been, they affirmed, six weeks in that Minister's hands before he drew up his instructions for Sir Charles Wood; that in these instructions "his lordship enclosed a printed copy of a letter from Mr. Hume, containing his charges against Sir James Brooke, and the points to which he considers the inquiry should be directed." That Lord Clarendon having therefore "adopted Mr. Hume's letter without any reservation or qualification," the Commissioners were bound to go into the charges specially mentioned by him.

The charge of Mr. Woods was that, by letters to the Governor, and also in "a private and underhand manner," Sir James Brooke had "vilified myself and character in the most outrageous and opprobrious manner, tending to injure

my character and prospects, and to bring me into odium with the community, and every one with whom I was and am personally known far and near."

Mr. Napier's charge was that the inquiry instituted by Sir James Brooke as Governor of Labuan into his proceedings as Lieutenant-Governor and Judge of the General Court of Labuan, had been conducted in "a most partial, unfair, and improper manner."

Without going into further particulars, it is enough to say that Mr. Woods' view of the duties of the Commissioners differed from theirs, and his last letter (September 18th) concludes with —"As I have nothing more to urge than what has been submitted in writing, I do not see that it would serve any purpose to attend personally before the Commission, except to substantiate the charges I have already sent in. As my accusations and complaints before the Commission in writing are considered inadmissible, I have no other course left than to refer the matter, which I intend doing by the present mail, to Lord Clarendon and Mr. Hume."

To Mr. Napier the Commissioners replied that his charges did not come within any of the heads of inquiry to which they were limited by the Commission under which they acted. "Moreover, they appear to have been fully considered and determined upon by her Majesty's Secretary of State (Lord Grey), whose decision appears to have been confirmed by his successor in office, Sir John Pakington."

To this Mr. Napier replied that Lord Grey's "partial and prejudiced decision" was founded on "those most unjust and derogatory proceedings on the part of Sir James Brooke," which he now arraigned. "Neither," he continued, "did Lord Grey's decision, such as it is, undergo any reviewal by his successor in office, Sir John Pakington; although it is true that these matters of charge came before him in my despatch of February 21, 1852, printed in the Parliamentary Papers of which you are in possession. But Sir John Pakington simply declined to re-open the case, as already disposed of by Lord Grey. . . . But, even assuming it were otherwise, and that

you had correctly represented what took place in the Colonial Office, I crave leave to observe that no view arising therefrom ought to govern you, and that you are bound by the terms of the Commission you are acting under, and by these alone, taken in connection with and explained by the views and manifested intention of those who directed the inquiry, and according to whose instructions the Commission was framed. If, indeed, the decision of the various departments of State to which the cognizance of Sir James Brooke's proceedings belonged were conclusive, there would be no inquiry at all, for there is scarcely one of his proceedings which you will have to inquire into, of which there does not exist the recorded approval of all these departments—the Admiralty, the Foreign, and the Colonial Offices.

"Take, for example, the attack of July 31, 1849, on the Dyak tribes. It was the subject of a judicial decision by Sir Christopher Rawlinson, which has been appealed to over and over again by Sir James Brooke, as conclusively settling the question of these people being or not being pirates. The operation was highly approved of by the Admiralty, and in the most pointed manner by Lord Palmerston, then at the head of the Foreign Office; and this approval was reiterated after the attack in question had become matter of very strong accusation against Sir James Brooke. There is, indeed, no doubt whatever that these accusations were set at nought in Downing Street, and that he was not only acquitted but applauded by all the public offices. It is certain, therefore, that in this instance, there exists abundant evidence of the charges against Sir James Brooke, arising out of that attack, having been fully determined upon by her Majesty's Secretary of State. Yet it seems no less certain that it is intended that this same attack, and the circumstances under which it was made, though not expressly mentioned in the Commission itself, shall form the subject of inquiry at your hands."

The Commissioners, in reply, stated that they remained unconvinced, but they had no wish to exclude Mr. Napier from personally insisting on the admissibility of his case at their

next sitting. "Indeed, they were desirous to have it understood that all their proceedings would be public and open to the world, and that the grounds of their admission or rejection of any matter of inquiry submitted to them should be fully understood by all who took an interest in it." Further, that there was "a marked distinction between those matters which, although already previously considered and disposed of by the Home Authorities, have been expressly directed to be the object of their further inquiry and report, and those on which no such direction had been made; and that they considered the matters he had laid before them to be of the latter class."

On Tuesday, September 19th, the Commissioners met again, when Mr. Woods appeared on behalf of seventeen of the fifty-three "merchants and others" signing the memorial to Mr. Hume. These gentlemen had felt aggrieved, Mr. Woods remarked, at the observations of Mr. Commissioner Prinsep, and had drawn up a document which they wished read. This document opened by quoting Mr. Prinsep's expression of surprise that none of the signers of that memorial had come forward "to support the statements therein made;" and continued, that "the undersigned begged to state, as being parties who signed that letter, that its main object was to obtain, on the grounds therein set forth, the inquiry which Mr. Hume so earnestly called upon her Majesty's Government to institute, but that neither individually nor collectively did they make accusations against Sir James Brooke, whatever view they might have expressed as to the propriety of having his proceedings made the subject of investigation.

"The undersigned beg further to state, with all due deference, that, having been thus openly appealed to by you, and in a manner reflected upon as declining to come forward, they entertain a very different view of your duties under the Commission from that expressed above; that they regard themselves as precluded by the terms of the Commission from preferring any accusatory matters against Sir James Brooke,

even if it were their wish, unless respecting causes of complaints of a personal nature; and that they consider that it belongs to you to inquire, without any step on their part, or on that of any other person, into the matters in question; and in the language employed by Mr. Hume in his letter of date April 30th, to Lord Clarendon, 'to ascertain from the British merchants at Singapore, and from masters of vessels trading between Singapore and Borneo, whether on any, and what, occasions they have experienced molestation from, or had piratical attacks made upon them by, the Dyak tribes;' and to proceed in like manner in investigating other matters prescribed by the Commission.

"The undersigned take the liberty to add that of those who signed the letter to Mr. Hume many are now absent in Europe and elsewhere, and that some are dead; and that, as is well known to yourselves, not one of the individuals mentioned by name in Mr. Hume's said letter as being witnesses very material for the elucidation of the truth have yet made their appearance in Singapore, although all of them belong to the Government service, and are therefore amenable to its orders."

Mr. Woods further stated, on the part of his constituents, that by signing the letter to Mr. Hume they did not consider themselves in any way called upon or bound to come forward with charges against Sir James Brooke; that its terms were quite general, referring to the necessity for an inquiry into the whole question of the piratical character of the Dyak tribes on the west coast of Borneo, and the measures that had been taken against them, and not to the particular acts of Sir James Brooke; and that to prove this it was only necessary to refer to the letter of requisition itself, in which it would be found that from beginning to end of it the name of Sir James Brooke did not once occur.* It was (Mr. Woods continued) the duty of the Commissioners themselves to call the witnesses before them, and prosecute the inquiry entrusted to them; but, notwithstanding this, the parties to that letter for whom he appeared would now bring forward matter for the consideration

* It is mentioned in the first paragraph.

of the Commissioners. He had only, however, received instructions on the previous day, and he would ask the commissioners to adjourn for a few days to give him an opportunity of preparing it.

Mr. Prinsep expressed himself pleased that some one had come forward to assist them in procuring evidence. It was a pity Mr. Woods' constituents were not ready before. The Commissioners had a right to expect that they would have been. They would now proceed with the examination of those memorialists to Mr. Hume for whom Mr. Woods did not appear.

Henry A. Allen, M.D. (called by the Commissioners), was then examined.—I am a physician and surgeon practising in Singapore. I signed a letter to Mr. Hume in January, 1851, merely as one of the public. The subject of Sir James Brooke had been long before the public, and was the subject of great disputes: the immense loss of life on the coast of Borneo appeared to render inquiry necessary. I had no personal knowledge of the subject, and never was in Borneo. I am not aware of any sources of information to which the Commissioners could apply. I am not aware who is referred to in the memorandum which follows the signatures as printed in the Parliamentary paper. I would now say it was Mr. Woods.

By Sir James Brooke.—I do not know whether the allegations contained in the letter be true or not true—I never inquired: but from public excitement, caused by the press, I considered that inquiry was necessary, and that was my sole reason for signing the letter. I never made any inquiries of any nakoda or native traders, and can say nothing of the Dyak tribes. It was not from personal motives I signed the letter, but, with the public, asking for inquiry, and not making accusations against Sir James Brooke.

[The letter to Mr. Hume had been accompanied by a memorandum describing the position, etc., of each individual signing, which memorandum was attested by "The above is a true copy of the signatures affixed to the letter addressed to Mr. Hume, and the description of the parties is correctly

stated. The letter was signed in the presence of the gentleman who certifies to Mr. Hume the correctness of the signatures."]

Christian Baumgarten, law-agent (called by R. C. Woods). —I am one of the signers of the address to Mr. Hume. I am not personally cognizant of the truth of the allegations respecting piracy set forth in that address. I am cognizant of some.

Was led to sign it because of the long discussion that followed Captain Farquhar's attack. Had no personal ill-will towards Sir James Brooke. The address was intended to promote Mr. Hume's attempts to procure an inquiry. My impression is that the gentleman mentioned as attesting the signatures is Mr. Woods. I have no recollection of having authorized the addition to my signature in the Parliamentary paper. I am now forty years of age, and had not resided in the Straits at that time [January, 1851] for thirty-five years [as there stated]. I would not have given that description of myself. I should have said about twenty years.*

The examination of the next witness was interrupted to allow the evidence to be taken of Mons. Baudriot, a Dutch gentleman, and late Resident of Japara, Java. Mons. Baudriot had visited Singapore on his way to Europe, and learning that the question of the piratical character of the Dyaks was being made the subject of inquiry, offered his evidence to the Commission. The circumstance of his being at Singapore during the sitting of the Commission is as curious as it was at the time unlooked for.

C. F. Baudriot.—I am in the Civil Service of the Netherlands India Government, and have resided in these parts for about twenty-six years. I was Assistant-Resident at Pontianak, on the west coast of Borneo, for four years and a half, from 1841 to 1845. I was also attached to a commission at

* In nineteen cases the description following the signature was incorrect, either as regards employment or length of residence, the latter being in nearly every case much overstated.—Ed. *Straits Guardian.*

Sambas in 1841. I am acquainted with the character of the people of the west coast of Borneo, and know the tribes called Sarebus and Sakarran Dyaks from official information. I have always known them and heard of them as piratical, killing and murdering without distinction all along the west coast of Borneo. They are the scourge and terror of the whole west coast.

In October or November they came down along the coast in large boats, having eighty or ninety men in each, armed in their own peculiar manner. They used to go out of their rivers, and attack every one—fishermen's boats, travelling prahus—landing and destroying kampongs, killing all men able to defend themselves, and carrying off the women and children as slaves. They always came suddenly. Their chiefs, or jurumudies, and their pilots were Malays. The spoils remained the property of the Malays; the skulls of the men killed, with the women and children, were the Dyaks'.

I know one instance in which in the course of one expedition, occupying about fourteen days, they killed four hundred fighting men and carried away the skulls. This was partly on the coast of the Dutch possessions, and partly beyond the Dutch territory. They use open native boats, manned by from twenty to ninety men. They have a kind of shield in front of their boats called *ampilan*. If you defend yourself you will be killed immediately; if you don't, you will be taken to their river and killed at their leisure.

If I had ever acted against them I should have killed as many as I could—more than Sir James Brooke did.

They are armed with spears of various kinds, klewangs, etc. The Malays with them have guns and rifles. They may not be generally known as pirates, for they principally confine themselves to the coast; but every one in that part knows them as such, and of a very particular description. Once they even proposed an attack on Sambas; and every precaution was taken by the Assistant-Resident there, and it did not take place. I consider them as peculiar pirates, but undoubtedly pirates. If they land on my territory, destroy my property,

kill me, and carry away my wife and children, I should certainly call them pirates.

By Sir J. Brooke.—The Sarebus people have occasionally ravaged the coasts of the Dutch territories. The atrocities perpetrated by them are recorded in official documents at Sambas and Pontianak, not once, but one hundred times. These pirates kill whomsoever they meet on sea and shore. The difference between the land and sea Dyaks is that the latter have Malays with them. Every human being they meet on their expeditions—Malays, Chinese, and Dyaks—they kill. They would hesitate to attack a European craft probably—but only because they would be afraid. It is a wonder they were allowed to exist so long; they attack the defenceless wherever they meet them on land or sea.

[Asked by Sir James Brooke whether he knew of an instance mentioned by Mr. Cornets de Groot of the Sarebus having attacked a small Dutch vessel of war]—I am not aware of the statement by Mr. Cornets de Groot, but not in the least surprised if they did, as a vessel in the Dutch service under my own orders at Pontianak on one occasion came into contact with them. This vessel was attached to the Civil Service, but was armed as all such vessels are, with a few carronades and one long gun. These pirates never went beyond Pontianak, and their attacks were principally confined to the coast of Sambas. I am surprised there should be any doubt of their piratical character. No one in the least acquainted with Borneo can have any doubt about it. Every man, woman, and child is cognizant of it—their name is a word of terror on the coast. After they return from an expedition they hold a species of saturnalia, lasting about fifteen days, at which the blood of victims, mixed with an intoxicating liquor called *tuak* is drunk from skulls taken in the expedition.

The distinction between the two kinds of Dyaks is this—the inland Dyaks take heads on shore, while the Sarebus and Sakarran take them both on shore and on sea. I have been in the houses of some of these Dyaks. In one I found fifty

or sixty human heads hanging from the roof. I feared my own might go to form an additional ornament. I wanted to purchase one head, and offered seventy or eighty rupees—I forget the exact amount—but it was refused. They set a great value on a head.

On September 22nd, two more of those who had signed the address to Mr. Hume were examined. George T. Wright, described therein as master mariner, for three years in command of the *Julia*, belonging to Sir James Brooke, a regular trading vessel to Saráwak, and resident at Singapore for eleven years, was called by Sir James Brooke.

In answer to questions, he said—I was given to understand by Mr. Woods that several of Sir James Brooke's friends had signed it with a view to afford him an opportunity of relieving himself of the odium cast upon him by his accusers, and on the strength of these representations I swear I signed it. I cannot swear that Mr. Woods was the only person who told me this. When I signed it there were several persons signing it, and I said, "anything for Sir James I will willingly sign." As far as regards these charges against Sir James Brooke, I entertain too high an opinion of Sir James's honourable conduct to doubt for one moment his not being guilty of the charges brought against him, and, indeed, of any other charge that would not stand rigid investigation. I had been upwards of two years connected with Sir James Brooke, and had many opportunities of observing his high sense of honour and benevolent character. Mr. Woods said every friend of Sir James Brooke ought to be glad of an inquiry, to set the matter at rest. As a friend of Sir James Brooke I signed it. In my fifteen voyages between Saráwak and Singapore in the *Julia* I passed a great many prahus, boats, and topes, but as they never attacked me I cannot say whether they were pirates or not.

Q. Sir J. Brooke.—Will you state about what time you took command of the schooner *Julia?* *A.*—Towards the latter end of 1846. *Q.*—That was after Captain Keppel's

operations on the coast? *A.*—Yes. *Q.*—What was the size of the schooner, and how was she manned and armed? *A.*—About one hundred and seventy-five tons, a lofty vessel of her class, and heavily armed with six-pounders, and a full complement of small arms.

Thomas Tivendale, shipbuilder, appeared at his own request.

Q. Sir J. Brooke.—Did you sign the memorial addressed to Mr. Hume? *A.*—I did. *Q.*—Were you aware of the contents of that memorial when you signed it? A.—No; I was not, or I would not have signed it. I was misinformed by Mr. Woods. *Q.*—Will you state how you were misinformed? *A.*—He called on me one Saturday afternoon with this memorial and asked me to sign it. I told him I had not time to read the paper at present, but to call on Monday. He said I need not be afraid to sign it—it was merely for the suppression of piracy on the coast of Borneo, and had been signed by almost all the principal merchants in the place. I said if that was the case there could be no harm in signing it; so I put my name to it. *Q.*—Would you have signed the memorial if you had known its contents? *A.*—No, decidedly not. *Q.*—Did you afterwards discover what the contents of the memorial were? *A.*—Yes, on the Sunday. *Q.*—Did you take any steps to rectify the error? *A.*—Yes, I came over to the Court House on the following Monday to Mr. Woods, who was deputy sheriff at the time, and asked Mr. Woods to take my name out. He said it could not be done, it must go home with the others.

Q. Mr. Woods.—At or before the time of signing the memorial had there not been considerable discussion regarding the question of piracy on the coast of Borneo? *A.*—Yes, there had—the papers were generally half full of it; but I was so much disgusted at it that I very seldom read them. *Q.*—I suppose you are aware what part Mr. Hume had taken? *A.*—Of course. *Q.*—Would not the very circumstance of Mr. Hume's taking a part unfavourable to Sir James Brooke make

you hesitate in signing the memorial to him? *A.*—At the time I signed it you gave me no time to hesitate, or think, even. *Q.*—Were you aware that what you had signed had any relation to the discussion of piracy going on in the place at the time? *A.*—No more at that time than that it was for the suppression of piracy, until the Sunday when I knew all the contents of it. *Q.*—I suppose you knew what part in the discussion Mr. Woods took? *A.*—Yes; opposed to Sir James Brooke. *Q.*—Now tax your memory and say whether, at the time the paper was brought to you on the Saturday by Mr. Woods, whose part in the piracy discussion you knew, nothing was said about an inquiry into the suppression of piracy on the coast of Borneo? *A.*—Nothing was said about an inquiry —there was no time given.

Mr. Prinsep.—When you signed the paper did you know that it was addressed to Mr. Hume? *A.*—No.

The course pursued by Mr. Prinsep towards the signers of the address to Mr. Hume, and the prominent position allowed to Mr. Woods, occasioned a remonstrance from the Raja and an intimation that so long as Mr. Woods took part as a prosecutor in the inquiry, he (the Raja), on grounds stated, declined being present either in person or by a legal representative.

On both the above points Mr. Devereux had dissented from his brother Commissioner, and, in a minute dated September 26th, he gives his reasons for so doing, and thus describes the embroglio caused by the action of Mr. Prinsep:—

"The matter of this (the Raja's) protest was not acceded to by the Commissioners, and on Saturday the 23rd, the so-called prosecution was proceeded with, notwithstanding Sir James Brooke had since (25th) communicated that on the conclusion of the inquiry prosecuted by the law-agent (Mr. Woods), and not till then, he will again take part in the proceedings.

"Affairs at present stand thus:—Sir James Brooke does not attend; one law-agent conducts the prosecution. He has made no charge. His field of inquiry is therefore not dis-

tinctly marked out, and hence business is a good deal interrupted by the discussions on the propriety of his line of investigation. The law-agent himself appears to consider his field unlimited, and yesterday, for instance, claimed to prosecute his inquiries into matters under the second head of inquiry, viz., Sir James Brooke's conduct as a trader.

"The Commissioners, on the contrary, appear in a general way to understand that he is acting in fulfilment of the duties which attach to the signers of the memorial to Mr. Hume.

"This point is still unsettled. In reply to a question put by me this day, the law-agent stated that he was acting for himself and for other parties whom he declined to name.

"In opposition to the prosecution, another law-agent (Mr. Aitken) conducts the defence. He was, with the assent of both the Commissioners, allowed to do so to-day, when he presented a letter signed by ten members of mercantile firms here, most of them among those who signed an address to Sir James Brooke, on November 3, 1849, approving of the measures adopted for suppressing piracy on the coast of Borneo. This letter authorized Mr. Aitken to conduct the defence as their representative. There are, therefore, in court two parties conducting a *quasi* prosecution and defence, and deriving their existence and *locus standi* from the memorial to Mr. Hume and the address to Sir James Brooke.

"On a review of the above facts," Mr. Devereux continued, "I think, with great deference to the experience and judgment of Mr. Prinsep, that I am justified in saying some little embarrassment has arisen."

It was under these circumstances that an investigation into the true character of the Sarebus and Sakarran Dyaks was entered on.

The third head of inquiry, viz., into accusations "which have been or may be brought against Sir James Brooke by British subjects, whether in their private capacity, or, as in the instance of the Eastern Archipelago Company, in a corporate

capacity, of having sought to injure their interests with a view to the promotion of his own," was taken first and disposed of—the first part in the way we have seen. Regarding the second, there was no appearance of the Company intending to come forward.

Whether the inquiry into the piratical or non-piratical character of the Sarebus and Sakarran tribes was warranted by the published instructions appears doubtful. It would, of course, be to the advantage of the opponents of Sir James Brooke to prove them non-piratical, and the field was clear before them now. But their witnesses came in slowly, and Mr. Aitken, on the other side, calling none, the Commissioners appealed to the Malay-speaking English public to assist. On this, with a tacit permission from the Raja, Mr. C. Grant, Mr. W. H. Read, and a few others, went to the docks to search for and to bring in native witnesses. A miscellaneous assortment was thus produced, and the result is stated by Mr. Devereux :—

"A difference of opinion regarding the admission of Mr. Woods existed between Mr. Prinsep and myself, and having recorded my sentiments as adverse to the admission of Mr. Woods to act, I think it right to observe that the course adopted did not prejudice the result of the inquiry; but, on the contrary, led to a more complete and satisfactory judgment being formed, inasmuch as by that means everything was brought forward which a practised, well-informed, and zealous law-agent could bring forward to support the views of the memorialists in favour of the Sarebus and Sakarran Dyaks, and nothing of any weight was alleged which impugned the opinion put forward by Sir James Brooke regarding the piratical character of those tribes.

"Every exertion was used on the one side to clear their character, while virtually nothing was done on the other except the production of witnesses, whose examination was wholly left to the Commissioners and to the adverse law-agent."

Mr. Prinsep wrote later, "I have reason to think that more

evidence from Borneo would have been procured from the traders and nakodas who annually resort in large numbers to Singapore, and were in the port during the greater part of the inquiry, but for the apprehension of detention and inconvenience disseminated amongst them, as we are informed, by the personal opponents of Sir James Brooke or their professional agent [Mr. R. C. Woods]."

Of the sixteen witnesses produced by Mr. Woods, Mr. Prinsep reports:—

"Not one of them deposed to any facts within his own knowledge which negatived the practice of piracy by the tribes of Sarebus and Sakarran on the coast of Borneo, while three of the witnesses called by him deposed to specific acts of those tribes; and another, who deposed only to the result of inquiries and research, rather establishes than controverts their piratical character. On the other hand, twenty-four of the witnesses subpœnaed by ourselves, together with Mons. J. Baudriot . . . deposed expressly to acts of violence at sea or on the coasts of Borneo, at various periods within the last twenty years, to which acts I can describe no other character than that of piracy, though committed by a race ill provided with sailing vessels, or such weapons of offence as are employed by Europeans."

Among the witnesses called by Mr. Woods was the pilgrim to Mecca, Datu Gaffur, late Patingi of Saráwak. His examination must have been somewhat trying to him, for it lasted through the whole of September 28th and 29th, and he was called up again a month later to give additional particulars. His evidence is free from trace of ill-feeling towards his Raja. Saráwak, he said, had been at the mercy of Sarebus and Sakarran ever since he could remember, not daring to retaliate—until the English Raja came. Now the Malays of Saráwak were no longer afraid. He did remember one expedition before that; he himself had led it, and gone as far as the mouth of the Sarebus river—"they had killed my own child—but we got nothing and met nobody." Sarebus and

Sakarran always leagued together. When they came out of their rivers if they met a prahu they plundered it, if a house or village, they ravaged it. They never came out for trade, but always for heads and plunder. All skulls were alike to them—"Malay, Dyak, Chinese, whatever they can get—they have no choice." But now they were at peace and traded with Saráwak.

Q. Mr. Woods.—Since when? *A.*—Since Tuan Brooke's time. *Q.*—Since the first time that Mr. Brooke was there? *A.*—No; since the time of the attack in 1849. He never remembered their trading before that, but some of them had come and settled in Saráwak. *Q.*—During the last ten years have any of the Saráwak Dyaks, or friendly Dyaks, made a foray upon any of the inland tribes? *A.*—No. During Sir James Brooke's time there has been none of that.

Q. Mr. Aitken.—Is it the law of Saráwak that no one shall take heads? *A.*—Yes. *Q.*—Since when? *A.* Since ever Tuan Brooke came; and whoever persists in taking them will be killed.

It was not till October 27th that the Commissioners closed this portion of the inquiry. Meanwhile the Chinese merchants and residents in Singapore of their own accord drew up an address, which was signed by fifty-nine, and laid before the Commissioners. The translation given in the Blue-book is as follows:—

"We, the undersigned Chinese merchants and residents of Singapore, knowing the old saying, 'A well-governed country pleases the heart of the Almighty God;' His people flourish under a good and impartial Governor, and all men ought to proclaim their confidence in Him, and rejoice with the clapping of hands.

"As touching Saráwak, Labuan, and Borneo, previous to their being reformed, the savage Malay pirates gathered together, both in the jungle, nested in their dens, and on the surface of the open sea, with the Lanun pirates, flying about everywhere like bees. Vessels, both belonging to the

country and also other navigating traders, fell a prey to them often, and always ran great danger in these seas. We Chinese trading to these places always ran great danger ourselves and with difficulty made any profit. But fortunately, through the gracious favour of her Majesty the Queen of England, Sir James Brooke was sent as her Majesty's Commissioner to have control over these places, viz., Saráwak, Labuan, and Borneo, and to govern the said places, to open up the country, and reform the barbarous Malay into a moral character, so as to enable us, the Chinese traders, since to carry on our mercantile business there to a profit. Such has been the case, accomplished through the kind protection of Sir James Brooke; and not only so, but, further, he has eradicated the roots of this most crying evil from the surface of the vast sea by dispersing the pirates, and has restored the four seas everywhere to be in tranquillity. We feel the deepest gratitude to Sir James Brooke for the influence of his great abilities, and for his struggles in this best scheme for the remedy of the world. Indeed, he is to be considered the true support of the country, as a stone pillar for the temple.

"And as we now hear of her Majesty the Queen of England having sent two Commissioners to make particular inquiries into matters of accusation, we, the Chinese merchants and residents of Singapore, as mentioned before, urged by a sense of Sir James Brooke's former and deep-rooted benevolence, have hereby come forward, one and all, to proclaim the deserved praise of his skilful capacity; and, at the same time, we pray that his son and grandson may succeed him, and that successful prosperity may attend them from generation to generation without ending.

"Never was there such a farce of an inquiry," the Raja wrote, October 6th; "humiliation to me, disgrace to the Government, injury to the natives, ruin to our policy, from a Commission conducted without dignity or propriety, and all about nothing!

"Keep your eye, dear Jack, on the steamer: it is of the

greatest importance to the safety of our people and the advance of our trade. Let no profession [of Government] interfere with this object.

"Of my own feelings I will not speak; they are more fierce, more bitter, and more contemptuous than a man ought to have or be forced into having. I control myself, however, as well as I can.

"The Commission has *secret instructions*. Such will not injure me; but nothing can be more shameless than issuing private orders to a public inquiry. It leaves the honour and character of every Government servant at the mercy of the spite or falsehood of the Minister. Nothing can hurt me; but I must say that in a case admitting of doubt, and which required patient and careful investigation, the instructions and the course pursued by the Commission would have resulted in gross practical injustice.

"I have been reading Miss Martineau's novel of 'Deerbrook.' It is excellent; and the trials of the Hopes under the calumnies heaped upon them, came home to me and taught me a lesson of charity I am not unwilling to learn. It is true that, with a fierce temper under wrong, I am inclined at times to commit a murder, or *two*, or *three;* but nevertheless, I am not vindictive, and very soon I shall forgive and forget the past —*when it is past.*"

The same letter continues—

"*October* 16, 1854.—I am delighted to tell that I have news of Brooke's recovery from his attack of dysentery. I am so attached to him, I prize so highly his qualities and fitness to become my successor, that I should mourn him with a hopeless mourning, and I shrink from the idea of his passing away from life before myself. I am becoming accustomed to lean upon him. I have a superabounding confidence in him, a confidence in the nobler and better qualities of our nature, which the '*scoundrelism*' of a few whom I have trusted too well cannot impair. I want a few—a very few—years to consolidate the work I have in hand, and Brooke is the cornerstone of my building. If, too, I must speak my selfish thoughts

(and they mix with others too naturally), it is that I look forward to repose, and to Brooke's exertions to give it me."

With the account of Captain Brooke's recovery had come that of Mr. W. Brereton's death. The Raja writes of it as "a sad event [happening] just as he would have enjoyed the reward of his labours. He was an affectionate and particularly lovable person, able, clever, enthusiastic, and with peculiar tact in managing the natives. Poor dear fellow, he loved me very sincerely, and I was attached to him from his youth upwards."

Mr. Brereton was but twenty-three. To the Sakarran chiefs he bequeathed the few worldly goods he possessed, an act not needed to endear to them his memory. His illness was thought to have been caused by the unhealthy nature of the undrained ground round the fort, and increased by the subsequent hardships of the attack on Rentap. He died in harness, and Mr. Charles Johnson, moving from Linga, took his place.

Tidings of another death also reached the Raja at this time—that of Major Stuart, a brother of Mrs. Brooke, and doubly loved by her son, because of a strong resemblance to her.

"Yesterday (October 17th)," he wrote to Mrs. Johnson, "brought me the mournful intelligence of our dear uncle's death. True, it has occurred in the fulness of time, and when increase of years insured increasing infirmity. A nobler and purer being never existed, a tenderer heart never ceased to beat. I sorrow, but sorrow is mingled with a holy joy that I was the relative and the friend of such a man. I do grieve, but we ought not to grieve for him: he was beloved in life, and in death mourned and honoured."

The remainder of the letter contains the expression of confidence that his sister will do all in her power to comfort those on whom the loss fell the heaviest.

On October 27th the Raja met the Commissioners in the Recorder's room. Mr. Woods was present, but merely in the

character of reporter for the press. The examination, if such it can be called, was directed to Sir James Brooke's position in Saráwak and the nature of the Saráwak Government; his mercantile transactions, and his relations with the native tribes of Borneo. On the previous day he had sent in to the Commission two memoranda on the subject of his appointment under Government; one, opening with the statement that "the Government of Lord John Russell was fully and minutely aware of the position occupied by Sir James Brooke at Saráwak," proceeds to prove it, and concludes with an account of his various attempts to escape the anomaly of the same position. The other is as follows:—

"'1. Whether the position of Sir James Brooke at Saráwak be compatible with his duties as British Consul-General and Commissioner for Trade,' etc.?

"Sir James Brooke was appointed Commissioner and Consul-General in March, 1847; he absolutely resigned that office in September, 1853.

"Formerly the duties of Commissioner and Consul-General were compatible with the position of Sir James Brooke, because, with a full knowledge of the circumstances, the Government of Lord John Russell had so decided.

"In future the position of Sir James Brooke at Saráwak will be incompatible with the duties of Commissioner and Consul-General, because, with a full experience of the circumstances, Sir James Brooke has so decided.

"'2. Whether the position of Sir James Brooke at Saráwak be compatible with his character as a British subject?'

"The position of Sir James Brooke at Saráwak, being compatible with the laws of Great Britain, is compatible with his character of a British subject.

"'3. Whether the interests of Sir James Brooke, as a holder of territory and as a trader in the produce of that territory, are compatible with his duties as Consul and Commissioner for Trade?'

"The position of Sir James Brooke at Saráwak in future being incompatible with the office he held under the British

Crown, the functions directly or indirectly arising out of that position, whether in revenue or in trade, will likewise be incompatible with the duties of Commissioner and Consul-General.

"'The interests of Sir James Brooke,' to use the words of Earl Grey, 'have heretofore been the same as the interests of the British nation—that is, to establish, as far as possible, peace and security in those countries, which is all that is necessary in order to enable the population to become civilized, and to create a very large commerce.' (Committee on Army and Ordnance Expenditure, *Q.* 8369.)

"The Commission, under these heads of inquiry, is especially referred to Sir James Brooke's protest against the instructions of Lord Clarendon."

With reference to these memoranda, on October 27th the Raja said—

"I desire to state, in addition, that the appointment as held by me was confined to diplomatic duties. I do not declare the duties of Commissioner and Consul-General incompatible with my position at Saráwak, excepting that I considered them unbefitting that position. But, of course, waiving that objection on my part, I considered myself acting for the public good; and I may say, in addition, that if that incompatibility should be established, whatever blame may result must rest with the British Government.

[Two days later this was further explained by the Raja: "Besides the unbefitting nature of the appointments which I before mentioned, the grounds for this decision on my part are that it is not only incompatible with, but seriously detrimental to, my position, to be placed in an office of great responsibility, for which there is no precedent in the public service, without the support and the confidence of her Majesty's Government, and in consequence exposed to suspicion, against the injurious effects of which, as a servant of the Crown, I had to claim protection."]

Mr. Devereux.—Have you any objection to explain the

nature of the position, with regard to dependence or otherwise, which you hold at Saráwak with reference to the latter part of the first head of inquiry—its incompatibility with the character of a British subject? *A.*—I refer to the protest handed in by me, and appeal to the proper legal tribunal to decide the question, but will not decline to answer. If my position at Saráwak is considered in its real nature, it is *de facto* independent in relation to all native powers; but surely not independent as relative to any European power, because Saráwak wants the first element of independence—which is power. I have already stated that the right to Saráwak is based upon a double title—that is, firstly, the election by the people who were free before I went to Saráwak; and secondly, that it is held by tenure under the Sultan of Borneo; and both these titles, which have been set forth for a long time, would show the independency of Saráwak. *Q.*—Would you explain the nature of the election by the people? *A.*—The people of Saráwak had been in successful rebellion for several years against their sovereign. It was by my mediation that they were induced to lay down their arms, and they offered then to support me in obtaining the Government of the country, and thus made the election by accepting the Government I offered, and resisting the Government of the native princes. Their conduct for thirteen years has been most consistent, and with the power at any time of upsetting the Government that I had established.

Q.—Actually you are understood to say that the Government of Saráwak is able to make war, coin money, form treaties, etc.? *A.*—Of course. In point of fact there is not the smallest tribe, before I went there, that had not all those rights, nor a single Malay community, nor even a town, that had not the right of making war. My position and power were founded on the anarchy consequent on the dissolution of the Government of Borneo, and the loosing of the bonds of society on that coast. It is perfectly well known to the British Government how desirous I have been, from the time I undertook the Government of Saráwak, to place the country

under British protection; and the danger to be apprehended by the British Government and by myself, as well as every Englishman who has embarked his fortunes in Saráwak, is that the political ascendency of Great Britain on that coast may pass into the hands of a foreign power.

I think it ought to be known, and I wish it to be clearly understood, that my personal interests are linked with those of my own country, but that the interests of Saráwak may become separate from the interests of Great Britain. For instance, supposing the British Government should not afford protection against piracy, or against foreign innovations, it would then become my duty to relinquish Saráwak to any nation which would afford the requisite aid to insure its security.

[Writing to Mr. Templer on November 16th, the Raja specially directs his attention to the last paragraph, and repeats it to him in full, prefacing it with—"I hope you will like my evidence before the Commission. There is nothing in it which all the world has not heard. In one place I have said as follows," etc.]

Q.—Will you be good enough to inform us of your relations with the native tribes of the north-west coast of Borneo, especially the Sarebus and Sakarran?

A.—I had no relations with Sarebus and Sakarran tribes until 1853. My sole object until then, with regard to them was to suppress the piracies carried on by these communities and to prevent the indiscriminate murder practised. For this purpose, after reporting the measure to the British Government, I built two forts, one at Sakarran and one at the mouth of the Kanowit River; these forts were to prevent the large fleets of piratical bangkongs from passing out. The measure was to a certain degree successful; but in 1853 the Sultan of Borneo placed those rivers under my government, with a stipulation that I was to suppress their piracy. This will be a matter of time, but I have no doubt of being able successfully to effect it. The Malays of these communities, and a portion of the Dyak tribes, have been reclaimed from their

piratical habits. The forts have been repeatedly attacked, and during the last eighteen months they have found their way to sea by other rivers which are not guarded. They have occasionally travelled overland upwards of a hundred miles, and then built their boats to proceed to sea. Many people have been murdered both on the coast and on the rivers. About six months ago a party of about seven Chinese were murdered, their heads taken, and their boat plundered of property amounting to eight hundred dollars. These Chinese had sailed from Saráwak, to which place they had come from Singapore. The next thing heard of them was that their heads were hanging among the Dyaks. One of these Chinese was a servant of Mr. Chambers, the clergyman settled at Linga, and I believe that others of them were British subjects, Malacca-born Chinese. The death of Mr. Lee; their attacks upon the forts; their resolution to continue their head-taking and piracy—induced me to attack them in their stronghold in the interior of the Sakarran river; this was in August. The attack was made by the people of the coast, and proved successful. The best results I anticipate will follow. I certainly wish to record that the Sarebus and Sakarran Dyaks must be reduced within the pale of human society, for there can be security neither for life nor property so long as their predatory excursions, both by land and sea, are continued.

Q.—Is there any claim on the British Government to assist in putting down these people?

A.—The Treaty of Borneo, Article IX., expressly stipulates for the suppression of piracy within the Sultan's dominions. These are the words:—

"Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Sultan of Borneo, hereby engage to use every means in their power for the suppression of piracy within the seas, straits, and rivers subject to their respective control or influence; and his Highness the Sultan of Borneo engages not to grant either asylum or protection to any persons or vessels engaged in piratical pursuits; and in no

case will he permit ships, slaves, or merchandise captured by pirates, to be introduced into his dominions, or to be exposed therein for sale: and her Britannic Majesty claims, and his Highness the Sultan of Borneo concedes to her Majesty, the right of investing her officers, and other duly-constituted authorities, with the power of entering at all times, with her vessels of war, or other vessels duly empowered, the ports, rivers, and creeks within the dominions of his Highness the Sultan of Borneo, in order to capture all vessels engaged in piracy or slave-dealing, and to seize and to reserve for the judgment of the proper authorities all persons offending against the two contracting powers in these respects."

If these people, therefore, be pirates, there is a claim. There can be no doubt of their being within the dominions of the Sultan of Borneo, but still practically independent, and not showing him any respect whatever. In ancient times the country of Sarebus and Sakarran was strictly dependent on the Sultan; I should say for the last hundred years they have thrown off all dependence. Besides the communities of Sarebus and Sakarran, the Sultan in 1853 (towards August in that year) placed under my government the rivers of Samarahan, Sadong, Linga, Kaluka, and Rejang. The people under my rule in these five districts are contented and peaceful, and only pay the same light revenue which has been imposed at Saráwak. There is no military establishment either in Saráwak, or those five districts, but there are twenty-four policemen. This does not include the forts, in which there are eight and ten armed men respectively. There is a third fort at Linga, which I omitted to mention; it is to protect Linga in case the Sarebus should come out on piratical expeditions.

Q.—As connected with your position as a British subject will you state briefly the views which guide the Saráwak Government in regard to slave-trade, freedom of trade, and any questions affecting general progress? *A.*—The suppression of piracy must certainly be effected with or without British assistance. Slavery is a social institution, but it has

been greatly modified, and it should only be abolished when it can be done with the consent of the people. Slave-trade there is none. The freedom of trade is as at Singapore, excepting that the transit of opium, fire-arms, and gunpowder into the Dutch territories is prohibited on account of the offence which a smuggling trade would give to that Government. The prospect of Saráwak arriving at commercial prosperity is through British capital and Chinese labour, and by these means it would be difficult to affix a limit to its developments. There is an inferior development of the resources of the country arising from the security and good government of the natives; and this, however advantageous to the natives themselves, would be of no consequence to British interests. The striking feature in the countries of the Archipelago, with the exception of Java, is the trifling amount of trade as compared with the natural riches of the countries themselves; and this can only be accounted for from the total decay of native governments, the general want of security, and the indifference and supineness of European States.

Other questions were also asked, some springing out of the vexed one of his obligations as a British subject, and inquiry was made into his proposed line of action with regard to British subjects in Saráwak; also into the relations between Bruné and Saráwak, and whether Saráwak were included in the British treaty with Borneo. That it could be held as included was altogether denied by the Raja.

Regarding charges brought against him by British subjects in a corporate capacity, the Eastern Archipelago Company, specially mentioned in the instructions, confined themselves to a request that a duty charged by the Sultan on their coal might be inquired into: the duty was, they said, exorbitant, but the Sultan refused diminution because so advised by Sir James Brooke.

The Raja expressed himself ready, either at Labuan or Bruné—the scene of the Company's labours—to enter upon

the whole subject of his dispute with them, and he was also willing to give at Singapore any information required. The Commissioners did not see their way to interfere, and only, in consequence of this intimation from the Raja, made courteous inquiry, when he explained that an *ad valorem* duty had been originally proposed by Lord Palmerston, but discretionary power being left to himself, he (the Raja) had objected to the Foreign Secretary's proposal, for reasons given; that his objections had been shared by Mr. W. H. Read and by other members of the mercantile community at Singapore, in concert with whom a duty on the registered tonnage had been substituted, agreed to by the British Government, and mentioned in the Treaty with Borneo of 1847; that at the time of this arrangement the right to work the coal was his only; "therefore it is insinuated that I resorted to the clumsy expedient of imposing a duty unfavourable to my own interest. I consider that the abolition or reduction of this duty would be an injustice to the Sultan, for not only is it imposed by treaty, but it has subsequently been ratified and accepted by the Company's agent, Mr. Motley, so as to preclude all dispute which might have arisen about the limits of the port of Borneo." That the Company having inflicted serious injury on Bruné, he had certainly advised the Sultan to consent to no remission until matters were put straight; and if consulted he should advise him so again, but advice was superfluous, for the Sultan was himself decided on the point.

Enough has been given to show the character of the Raja's defence, if defence it can be called where charge there was none. From first to last the tone is that of the extracts quoted.

We will turn now and see the under-current of thought and feeling. He is writing to Mr. Templer—

"*November* 1*st.*—The worn-out theme must still occupy my pen; and as the saying is, that 'the longest day must have an end and the longest lane a turn,' the Commission must be finished some time or other. At present, with nothing before

it, and nothing likely to come before it, it is apparently postponed *sine die*.

"Let me give the briefest summary of the inquiry:—No accusation has been made except the two absurd ones before mentioned. The inquiry into the piratical character of the Sarebus and Sakarrans was forced on the memorialists. It has been carried on four hundred miles from the place where the events to be inquired into occurred. I have been excluded from the Commission in consequence of the unjustifiable course pursued. I could not be represented, because there is no one to represent me.

"The truth, therefore, has not been extracted from the adverse witnesses for want of my examination. I have called no witnesses of my own. Though the fact of piracy has been conclusively proved, its extent and the loss of life attendant on it remains unknown to the Commissioners.

"The evidence has been exhausted, and yet the inquiry is kept open awaiting further *orders*.

"I have resolved to protest against the secret instructions. It is my business and my duty—it may not be my interest. I will not be coward enough to submit to this, for I see no end to such abuse if once permitted.

"The Commissioners are on the worst of terms. Age and bad temper control ability and sense. I often think the affairs of the world in general, and of our glorious country in particular, had better be managed by a quiet game of pitch-and-toss. It would save a great and useless expenditure of thought and time, and it would preclude all the intrigue and chicanery which mark public affairs. The equal chance of heads and tails would leave a reasonable ground of hope to an honest man. . . . How my heart beats when I think of Sevastopol! I have no interest there—no interest in England—and yet I am enough of an Englishman to feel the throb of her glory in my heart's core. So just a cause merits sympathy, too, independently of national feeling. *Vale!*"

A copy of the protest referred to above was sent to Mr. Templer, and is given here.

"NOTE.—I enter my protest against the secret instructions under which this Commission has acted. I protest against secret instructions in judicial inquiry—that they are contrary to the principles of the British Constitution, dangerous to the liberty of the subject, and calculated to pervert justice.

"J. BROOKE.

"November 14, 1854."

Raja Brooke was not alone in his feeling that the Commission should summarily wind up and depart. On November 7th Mr. Devereux drew up, unknown to him, the following minute:—

"On Monday, October 30th, the Commissioners held a sitting which lasted about three-quarters of an hour. On the 31st they sat for nearly two hours and a quarter. On November 6th they sat for one hour and three-quarters. To-day they will not sit. In short, during eight working days they have transacted business for only four hours and three-quarters—for the very sufficient reason that there is no more business to be done. I have only to-day ascertained from Mr. Prinsep that he proposes to wait at Singapore for an indefinite time, in the expectation of a reply to the letter which was addressed to the secretary to the Governor-General of India in the Foreign Department, on September 11th, applying for seven volumes of Hansard, and until the Order in Council giving authority to examine witnesses in Borneo shall arrive. It is time, therefore, that I should place on record what is, in my opinion, the proper course to be pursued."

There was nothing to be done at Singapore. Regarding Labuan "it is upwards of three months since the notification concerning the arrival of the Commissioners was publicly promulgated, and since their arrival here H.M.'s brig *Rapid* has been to Labuan and back without producing the slightest intimation of any occasion whatever for the Commissioners to go to Labuan."

Regarding Bruné there was, if possible, still less reason. The only British subjects there happened to be in prison

awaiting trial. In Saráwak a few could be found, but the Commissioners were not so "urgently desirous of examining them" as to be justified in calling for the services of a forty-gun frigate. The said frigate, moreover—the only vessel at hand—would not be able to go up the Saráwak River; and if Kuching were by any means attained to, "the Commissioners would have no choice but to become the guests of Sir James Brooke, a proceeding which, under the actual circumstances, seems to be undesirable."

In the event of the arrival of an Order in Council, it was probable that the Commissioners would be allowed discretionary power, and not be forced to move to some "locality off the coast of Borneo;" was it necessary, therefore, to await the Order in Council?

"I should further add," continued Mr. Devereux, "that the Commissioners are here at a cost to the Crown of between £800 and £900 a month, and they would ill observe Lord Clarendon's injunctions of economy if they continue here when no public duty requires it. I may further remark that Sir James Brooke has intimated his desire to return to Saráwak in the only vessel which is available to him, and that he is only kept here because the Commissioners have not declared their Commission to be closed. I propose, therefore, that notice shall be given in the most public manner that the Commission shall be closed forthwith unless fresh business is laid before it, and I would fix the departure of the Commissioners for Calcutta by the steamer *Shanghai*, which is expected in a few days. Should Mr. Prinsep dissent from the arguments I have used, or the conclusions I have drawn, I trust he will place his reason for doing so on record. I shall then be in a position to judge whether it is consistent with my duty to remain for a further period at Singapore, or whether I shall proceed to Calcutta by the first steamer."

It may be interesting to know something further of the machinery set in motion in connection with this inquiry. Lord Clarendon's instructions, with their accompaniments, having

been duly forwarded to the India Board, were, by Sir Charles Wood, passed on to the Governor-General of India. Lord Dalhousie was at the time ill able to spare two Civil servants of a sufficient standing for Commissioners on such an inquiry, and he openly expressed his sense of the inconvenience of being called on to do so. But Messrs. Prinsep and Devereux were at last chosen and furnished with the documents received from England, including the printed copy of Mr. Hume's letter, "together with three volumes of papers annexed to it, containing his charges against Sir James Brooke, and the points to which he considers that the inquiry should be directed."

Further, in a communication to the newly appointed Commissioners, they are informed by the Secretary to the Government of India, that,—

"An ordinance has been passed by the Lieutenant-Governor and the Legislative Council of Labuan to facilitate your proceedings within the jurisdiction of that island; and an Order in Council will have been issued by her Majesty for conferring on you the necessary powers for the discharge of your functions within the territories of the Sultan of Borneo. An Act will also be passed as soon as possible by the Legislative Council of India, for the purpose of giving you power and authority to examine and compel the attendance of witnesses, etc., within the settlements of Prince of Wales' Island, Singapore, and Malacca."

CHAPTER XXIV.

1854, 1855.

"*November* 16, 1854. [Letter to Mr. John C. Templer]—The great event is my having arranged for my passage back to Saráwak, and should Mr. Prinsep keep the Commission open, I shall enter a further and third protest, and so depart. I do not think it possible, however, that any *orders* to continue the inquiry will be sent, and if it be left optional this iniquitous Commission will close. In the report it may be that the Commissioners take an unfavourable view of my position relative to my character as a subject. Should it be so, you must at once lay the case before the best Counsel in England for an opinion, and thus arm me in any future contest.

"*November* 18*th*.—By the mail of the 16th arrived the powers from the Privy Council to the Commissioners to visit Borneo. In my protest I have denied that the Queen, under treaty, has such powers, except in the cases specifically mentioned, *i.e.*, crimes of British subjects, and disputes of British subjects with each other or with natives within the dominions of the Sultan. A glance at the instructions will show how little warranted is the assumption of a general jurisdiction.

"The Commission has been a farce, and very incomplete in all points. Like the old Percy, I can say that I have preserved 'the little bird in my bosom' always, and that there is not a blot nor the shadow of a blot on my honour. I am thankful, even, that when brought to the light of day, my enemies were not bold enough to attempt to prove one out of

all their numerous calumnies. The points of the inquiry relating to my appointment in the public service of England, and to trade, etc., are unworthy consideration. I only served in order to advance what I considered to be the interests of England and of Saráwak, and experience has shown that in doing so I committed an error in judgment. The *find*, however, will come upon the question whether my position at Saráwak be compatible with my character as a British subject. The inquiry has brought my position into such strong light that it will be impossible in future for the British Government to mask the question, or to affect ignorance.

"The protest will place you in possession of the double title by which I maintain my position, and in all discussion keep clearly in view the broad distinction between Saráwak as a country, and James Brooke as a ruler chosen by the people. My removal may ruin me, and certainly will ruin British interests, but it cannot affect the rights of the people of Saráwak. By the inquiry it will be seen that I claim for Saráwak an independency of Borneo, or of any other State. Personally, I hold the territory by a deed of cession from the Sultan, which reconciles the independence of Saráwak with the claims of Borneo; sever this link, and Saráwak will be more independent, or she will be enslaved and the poor Dyaks murdered. It would be impossible for me to allow a *de facto* dependence on the Sultan; firstly, because it is not true, and secondly, that it would involve Saráwak in all the misgovernment and internal distractions of his government. This, however, led to another consideration, and I denied positively that Saráwak was bound by the treaty between Great Britain and Borneo. The treaty was made subsequently to the cession of Saráwak, and Saráwak was not included in the dominions of the Sultan of Borneo, or at any rate so included in a very remote sense as a feudal State with a distinct jurisdiction and government. The treaty of Borneo was drawn out at the Foreign Office, and therefore I am in no manner responsible for it, and it was a treaty following a war, and in its stipulations binding down a barbarous monarch. There is

not much of the treaty, but yet enough to prevent its application to any free country or free government; the clause binding the Sultan not to make any cession similar to Labuan in future without the consent of the British Government cannot apply to Saráwak, which had been previously ceded. The article stipulating that the Sultan is not to impose internal duties within his dominions could, from its very injustice and direct interference in the internal affairs of the country, only be defended on the ground of necessity and the total want of government under the Sultan—to say nothing of its folly. It prevents the Sultan levying internal duties, but does not prevent his robbing and plundering his people. This article, however, is quite inapplicable to Saráwak. The additional article will be the great hitch, as granting jurisdiction to a single Englishman, duly empowered by the Queen, to judge and punish his countrymen—even in cases of life and death, without appeal. This stipulation, if extended to Saráwak, would ruin every Englishman there; it would supersede an equitable trial by jury by an arbitrary tribunal, and it would place British subjects not only above the law of the land, but beyond it. I will never concede this question, or allow this additional article to apply to Saráwak. The courts are established, justice is publicly administered, and all men are judged by their fellows. The English may leave the country, but as long as they are in it they shall obey the law, or they shall have no protection from the law. The stipulation, however, is not only inapplicable to Saráwak, but it must be non-operative everywhere.

"Now, let us come to the practical question. What will the British Government do? Let us suppose they declare my position to be incompatible with my allegiance. The effect will be that I must inform British subjects that I am no longer responsible for the safety of their lives or property. The whole fleet of England, with the army in the Crimea to back it, could not give them the security they at present enjoy. I might distribute justice and insure safety to the natives in some other character besides that of ruler, but the subjects of

Britain would stand beyond the pale of the law and the sympathy of the society, and must look to a Consul-General and to a Government at the Antipodes to regulate the affairs of daily life, and to administer justice distinct from the justice of the country. It would be a mere barbarism. The British position would be weakened, the subjects of Britain would be insecure, their enterprise would be checked, and in a short time there would be no Englishmen in the country excepting those who adhere to me from the ties of affection. Should the British Government declare my position at Saráwak incompatible with my character as a British subject, the inconvenience to me would be moderate. Another ruler not a British subject would reign in my stead. I should retain my influence and my power excepting in name. I should not be unhappy—'the little bird' would sing as merrily as ever, or rather as plaintively as ever, for that is the nature of the bird and the tone of his song. Then, besides another ruler, there is the option before me of advising the people of Saráwak to invite the protection of a foreign country, or I might fall back on Lord Clarendon's own view, and declare Saráwak to be, what he says it has been considered by the Government of England, a private property, in which case the Privy Council could not by law call it under examination. I allude to the Act of William and Mary, forgetting chapter and verse. You must bear in mind, however, it lies in the power of the British Government to arrange this question on an equitable basis. I have no such power, but I have the power of resisting wrong and injustice, whether openly offered or masked by the forms of obsolete British law. Every step the British Government may be pleased to take in opposition to my rights and my will to back them, will be a blow struck at British interests, and can only result in closing the sphere I have opened to her advance in Borneo, and to the maintenance of her position in the Archipelago. It will be very easy to ruin what has been done. I am open to reason. I desire to advance the real interests of my own country. There exist no insuperable difficulties to arrangements consistent with the *substantial*

and de facto independence of Saráwak, and the prosperity of British commerce. The Government of England has beat round the bush for the last ten years and is now in a corner through its own folly, and it must pull down the whole tenement and bury the English inhabitants in the *débris* of the Government established in Saráwak, or it must acknowledge that Government in some direct sort. I am not to be moved by its resolve. The wildest jungle in the fastnesses of the interior will afford me refuge, and a degree of peace I should not know by a betrayal of duty. At any rate six feet of earth on my mountain of Peninjau will not be grudged by Lord Clarendon; and even should I have the misfortune to fall into the hands of the *Britishers*, by Jove, Jack, I will buy a pick and a shovel and go and dig gold at Bendigo! Would that be contrary to my character as a British subject?

"I have written enough in a rambling sort of way to prepare you for the only point in the report which may cause embarrassment and give the Government a handle. I will leave it to you to decide the steps you will take, and it might be necessary to discuss the matter with Lord Clarendon before or after the report of the Commission. One thing let him know—the Government has acted in ignorance of my character. I am not to be moved by a dread of consequences, and though I may be led, no man, or pig either, is worse to drive. I have a spirit of *contrariness*, as Mrs. Gamp would say, and so well is this known that those who live about me act upon it, and I find it out. On Monday, positively, I am off for Saráwak, singing, '*omne bene, sine pœna tempus est ludendi.*'"

"*Saturday, 18th.*—I have just heard from Mr. Prinsep that I may consider the inquiry to be closed, and that it will be formally closed on Monday at one o'clock. Congratulate me, dear friend. You must not think from what I have said that my enemies have not tried to convict me of crime. They moved every engine in their power to procure evidence against me, but no native would listen, and so afraid were the men in the prahus and the harbour of injuring me or being entrapped into giving evidence that they would not attend the summons

of the Commission without coming to me first to know whether they were good men who called them.

"*November* 21*st.*—Commission of Inquiry closed yesterday. I am prepared to meet the Government half-way in an amicable spirit, and to assent to any arrangements, on an equitable basis, for arriving at a solution of the questions to which I have devoted my life. These questions are—1. The security and happiness of the people of Saráwak. 2. The advancement of British interests.

"To attain these objects it must be borne in mind—1. That the rights of the people of Saráwak are not to be infringed. 2. That Saráwak will own nothing more than a *de jure* dependence on the sovereignty of Brunéi, maintaining its own Government and customs intact, and without interference, but fulfilling the existing contract. 3. That provided Saráwak be in future understood as included in the treaty of 1847, between Great Britain and Brunéi, the terms of that treaty shall be modified. 4. That no tribunal for the trial of British subjects shall be established in Saráwak of which the ruler of Saráwak is not the superior judge, and that the right shall be preserved to British subjects of a trial by jury. 5. That a clear understanding be arrived at of the position of Saráwak relative to Great Britain. 6. Recognition of Saráwak by a protectorate flag; the confirmation or retraction of the sanction already given to the present flag.

"I closed my evidence before the Commission with the words that 'on the one hand were security and progress, and on the other anarchy or the transfer of our political ascendency to a foreign power.'

"Let me beg of you without loss of time to send me two or three works on Constitutional Law and History, and those of course which deal most in detail with the freedom and rights of the subject at the present day, setting aside the obsolete laws and customs of the times past when the power of the Crown was exorbitant.

"I write this in great haste. You may fancy how light my heart is amid its bitterness which remains. In half an hour I embark to return to my own country."

It was perhaps well that the Commission did not visit Bruné, for Sultan Mumim was angry, and had caused it to be understood in Labuan that he would have no British Commission coming to Bruné to ask questions about the Raja Brooke, and that in the event of their visiting Labuan, he intended to inform them that he would forward no witnesses whatever, unless Sir James Brooke himself requested him to do so; further, having heard that piracy and whether the Raja were a proper person to be entrusted with power to put it down, formed one of the subjects of the inquiry, he should let them know that not only was the Raja a proper person, but that no one else knew anything about it, and that the pirates would simply laugh at ships of war, unless acting under his (the Raja's) experience and advice.

The Commission being formally closed, the Raja, with Mr. St. John and Mr. C. Grant, embarked in a small schooner for Saráwak; but the vessel proved "a wretched craft," the weather was bad, and after five days having only advanced twenty-five miles, they returned to Singapore, and the Raja was taken to Saráwak by Captain Blane, in H.M.S. *Rapid*. The following letter, dated December 2, 1854, is to Mr. Templer:—

"Captain Elliot has been kind enough to give me a passage across in H.M.S. *Rapid*, and we sail to-morrow or next day. I long to be back amongst my own people, and to enjoy that repose which has never yet failed me in Saráwak. The Commission is at an end, and it has proved how unjustifiable it was to institute an inquiry when there was 'nothing to inquire into.' Let all that pass. But how will the Government stand my protest? Much of our future course must depend on the temper of the Government. On this head let me repeat—That I am willing to meet Ministers in a fair spirit on neutral ground. That I am anxious to advance the true interests of my own country. That personally I have nothing to ask. That publicly I have as much to give as to get. That I will not hear of being the mere tool to patch up a question which must be solved. That in tampering with my

position, the Government is tampering with British interests, and will destroy them. That when my position in Saráwak is recognized or relinquished we will proceed to other matters. That not only has all that was before done been undone by the Government during the last five years, but the British position in the Archipelago has in a great portion been finally and irretrievably lost, and weakened everywhere. Saráwak alone has withstood the effects of public clamour and Government neglect. This will be enough for the first dose for Lord Clarendon, and my private opinion is that the Ministry will hustle the whole question and go to sleep afterwards. I have no faith in them—that jewel has been lost, and the casket alone remains. With Saráwak it is different, and I may come on the stage like King Richard, and say—

> Now is the winter of our discontent
> Made glorious summer by that blockhead Hume,
> And all the clouds which lowered about our house
> In the dull bosom of the Blue-books buried!

You may fancy how relieved my mind is by shaking off this vile inquiry, and all the suspicion which it gave rise to.

"How are you, dear friend? And how is Hannah, and the five? And how all the rest? You will be able to give me some details now, and I in like manner may babble of scenery and grow descriptive of Cochins and Shanghais. But these subjects, mild as milk and pleasant as lemonade, have little flavour at first after swallowing draughts of alcohol, tippling blue rum with Clarendon, gin sling with Joe Hume, fiery blazes with Wise, and sherry cobbler with the Eastern Archipelago Company. I am content, however, to give over strong drinks, literally as well as allegorically. My desires are moderate, and at the same time my ambition is so unbounded that the poor fools can never understand it. Had I been in England while this occurred I would not have said so much; but having passed a year and more in Saráwak under the most trying circumstances, I know that I have the key of my happiness in my own keeping. I am old, the fire of my nature burns low, I like easy chairs, I like pleasant books. I do not

look for justice in this world, but I believe that all things are working for good, and come what come may, Saráwak can never lose the impress I have given to the Government and to the people; amid ruin and confusion they will still retain it. My friend Read will forward you about forty copies of a pamphlet containing the evidence. Distribute them. Don't forget Rigby and Frank Grant, and Mrs. Keating, Crescent, Bath. Farewell, dear Jack. Evil has not prevailed against us, thanks to you and to Drummond, and Lord Ellesmere and Lord Grey.

"P.S.—Charge Government *every farthing* of postage and stationery."

It will be remembered that the Raja had claimed repayment of all his expenses incident to the Commission. A letter to Mr. Cameron, written in the following year (1855), explains his mind more fully.

"I wrote you that I would not receive salary for my office as Commissioner and Consul-General after September, 1853, the date of my resignation. I understand that Government does not consider me out of the public service until the resignation has been accepted and gazetted. Be this as it may, I will leave it with Templer and yourself to decide whether I ought to accept or refuse this salary. I am not a good judge on the point myself, and I am sure you will be as fastidious on it as I would be myself, *i.e.*, you will maintain a right and refuse an obligation. It is clearly to be understood, however, that this tender of resignation is in full force, and should be accepted immediately. I will not be too proud to take what you consider me entitled to, and if it be as salary it will help me in my Trojan war, seven years of which are already over."

The Raja's letters on business matters, of which this is one, are very characteristic. Those to Mr. Wise have been already dwelt on. Those to Mr. Templer contain pages of a simple matter-of-fact viewing of every subject, and a calm calculation of possible contingencies, and of means to ends; but unawares a sentence comes, such as—"They should remember that great developments require great minds as well

as great means;" or there is a sudden transition, as in the following—"To save trouble, now I have written all this, will you make M. copy it and send it to Cameron. I confess, however, my views to be undigested, and I am aware of my own deficiences; but, my dear Jack, won't we have a plum!—and then Dora shall have a beautiful new dress of brown holland, quite in accordance with papa's feelings, and Georgy shall go to Greenwich fair and buy a penny trumpet, and Jemmy and Harvey and Freddy, and mamma, if she likes, shall have a treat of antimonial wine! Adieu—to-day I degenerate into nonsense suitable to the nobler part of my nature."

A Chancery suit, brought on him by Mr. Wise, was dragging its slow length along. "I suppose," wrote the Raja, "that it must come to an end before the world. I *suppose this*, because Vice-Chancellor Wood so said it at a Lord Mayor's feast.—Vide *Sunny Memories*, p. 193."

Mr. Wise will not be mentioned again. A few more extracts of letters to Mr. Templer tell all we need further know. The first was written from Singapore during the inquiry. "I suppose Wise cannot be permitted to keep aloof for two years under the pretence or reality of illness. *Povero diavolo!* With such a conscience no wonder he is ill, even unto death. The stings of exposure and defeat awaken the dormant powers of conscience which revenge and ambition had smothered; and at any rate with such a bill hanging over him how can he get well, for even innocence itself does not pillow its head comfortably upon Chancery folios?"

The second, dated May 26, 1856, refers to him. "Be merciful, dear Jack, if mercy be consistent with justice and honour. I would not trample upon a fallen foe, and though I might be proud to prostrate a lion, I would let a fox escape when I had taken his brush!"

"*October* 10*th*, 1856.—Wise is truly an object of pity. Unhappy man, his own enemy and the betrayer of himself! God knows I bear him no ill-will; and, indeed, through this long strife I have despised rather than hated him. I have

felt what must be his position in this life; and, guilty as he has been in act and intention, I know that God will not punish his finite errors with an infinite infliction. This is an incidental bit of heterodoxy which you may accept or not; but the fate of this man, with whom I was once so intimate, raises serious thoughts, and if my hearty and unreserved forgiveness would please or benefit, I bestow it, and you may convey it to him."

Lawsuits could not be carried on without money, and the expenses caused by the Commission had to be met. It is the simple truth to say that Raja Brooke never knew, from the time that his career began in Borneo to the day of his death, freedom from pecuniary anxiety; but how heavily this told upon him was known only to a few. The earlier struggles, though trying, were free from the bitterness that he could not but feel now—that most grievous bitterness that dwells in the thought that the suffering, be it what it may, ought never to have been caused, and that the force required to counteract it can only be spent at the cost and loss of better things. He writes lightly of this occasionally, as of everything else when the mood is on him. "Who's afraid, dear Jack? My old friend Admiral Walcot said in the House of Commons the other day that they might break his heart but not his spirit; but, for my part, I have no intention that any man or men shall effect such an object, and it is not reserved for woman now. Will you look after this, my buoyant friend, and remember that I will borrow first, then beg, and, as a last resource, steal—on a wholesale scale, of course. Will you please to tell me when the stealing time comes?"

The above is another of the abrupt transitions referred to. After this the original subject is resumed with perfect soberness, the prospects of a coal-mine being examined; and out of the coal-mine we come to—"Dear Jack, do not, pray, do anything whatever which could by possibility injure your family, or that might be misconstrued relative to your legal position. All the coal-mines in the world may go to the devil, but do not you come to harm to serve me. I draw

upon your time, your thoughts, your patience, your friendship, but I will not draw upon your purse or your reputation."

The last letter of 1854, is dated December 27th, and was written a fortnight after the Raja's arrival in Saráwak. The passage across in the *Rapid* had been a very pleasant one, and he writes—"Her gallant Captain Blane insisted upon paying me all sorts of honours. The people were glad to see me back, but could not have been so pleased as I was to be once more amongst them. I explained in public the proceedings of the Commission and its result, and I told them that they must remember they were free people, and always prize their freedom and independence above all other things. We acknowledged the Sultan of Borneo so long as the Sultan of Borneo did not interfere with our Government and rights. Saráwak was independent, and would maintain its independence; and whether it was myself, the Sultan, Brooke, or any one else, the people must guard against and punish the attempt to infringe the established order of things. In one word, nothing could be better than the temper and feeling of every class in our community; their confidence in their Government is unbounded, and through our struggles and the neglect of the British during the past five years we have attained a greater degree of stability than would otherwise have been the case.

"For myself, I can say that my spirits are as elastic as a boy's. I am in perfect charity with the world—Hume and Wise included. I have nothing more to say to them, and really for the Government I have a kindly though contemptuous feeling. They will find me quite reasonable. I want nothing. I am ready to do everything to advance the interests of England on a noble scale, but I am utterly repugnant to the burdens of official life and official uselessness. If they want to serve Saráwak and serve England by forwarding the development of these countries, they will place a small steamer at my disposal. They won't do this, because some official obstruction exists; some scare-crow of red tape will prevent the simplest measure of practical usefulness.

There is a spirit at work here which will move the entire Archipelago, but it is a spirit they dare not encourage, for it is higher than their conceptions, more ethereal than their policy of potter's earth, more soaring than their flight of a feeble wing dare attempt. Let them pass. I can see and prophesy that my work will not be disturbed by native hands, if disturbed at all, and if it be disturbed it will be by my own countrymen or by other Europeans with their permission.

"On Christmas-day five Dyaks of the Balow tribe received baptism in our church. In five years we shall have five or fifty thousand if our countrymen will only let matters take their course. You know my cautious temper, and how long I have forborne, and how little I would risk for any premature success in converting the natives to Christianity; but I am certain our tribes—always barring European mischief to our Government—will be moved *en masse*. They are in the stage of society to be so moved, and now that the blessings of security and good government are theirs they will turn to the religion of their benefactors. The fellows at home ought to support me—but they won't; and again let me repeat, I want nothing for myself."

"*February* 3, 1855.—We wait anxiously for news from Sevastopol. Amid the great and glorious struggle we cannot expect to attract attention, and for the matter of that I neither desire nor strive for Ministerial or popular favour. If the Government be sincere and earnest, let it maintain a small steamer on this coast, and then they may go on in their usual mode of gentle drivelling for a few years to come. If they be not in earnest they will talk of naval aid, send a short letter with a big seal to the Admiral, and leave us to suffer from all the fluctuations arising from divided counsels."

In anticipation of the steamer that Mr. Templer had been commissioned to purchase, a tax on tobacco was proposed by the Raja in Council.

"I left it," he writes, "entirely with the datus and people to adopt or reject at pleasure. They approved it quite willingly, and expressed how important they considered a

steamer would be to the protection of our trade. Since the departure of the Datu patingi (Gaffur), we have been very successful in establishing our inferior court, in which the Datu Bandar presides, assisted by three or four hadjis of character. The old Tumangong is likewise a judge in Israel, and sometimes he breaks into the court, upsets the gravity of all present by laying down *his* law for a quarter of an hour—krissing and hanging, flogging and fining all offenders, past, present or future, and after creating a strong impression vanishes for a month or two."

The money raised by this tax was of small amount, and how the steamer could be paid for remained an unsolved problem. The country was too poor to bear the first cost of new machinery, however necessary, and the Raja would force no tax on an unwilling people. They should tax themselves, and they should do it freely, from a sense of the benefits derived from their Government, and confidence in its discretion. What was necessary for their present welfare which yet they could not afford he would get for them, though at the cost of personal suffering.

"I have enough to eat and drink," he wrote, "clothes, such as they are, a roof over my head, and a nosegay of flowers each morning. Money will not make me happier; if I seek it, 'tis as a means for the good—oh, such good!—of others."

But many a groan sounded in Mr. Templer's ears, and now and then an outbreak such as, "You may tell the Government, and Lord Clarendon in particular, that they should *present* me with such a steamer for the service of England and Saráwak, in lieu of the trouble and time they have cost me! Ask them how their red tape would like it. Why, red tape would turn scarlet with anger, not with shame!"

The year 1855 opened peacefully in Saráwak.

"We are quite prosperous and quiet, dull as ditch water. The remembrance of the Commission is fading away. No irritation is sprouting in my bosom.

"I wanted to write to Hannah about rural pursuits, of fowls specially. Tell Dora that Mrs. Brown Chittyprat, Mrs. Roundabout Bustle, Mrs. Dumpy Squat, Mrs. Beard Speckles, and Mrs. Stripes Longshank send their compliments. I am modest enough to propose five hundred fowls yearly supplied to our table. If they succeed five thousand will not content my ambition; but I am rather given to count my chickens before they are hatched, and away they go like the crockery."

The work of the Saráwak Government increasing on all sides increased the demand for European officers, but all plans requiring the employment of Europeans were now retarded by the uncertainty of the result of the Commission of Inquiry.

Again and again the Raja impresses on Mr. Templer that until this is decided no mercantile enterprise can be safely attempted. He will have no investments made under hopes that might prove delusive. Plans may be provisionally discussed and formed, but nothing more.

For the Saráwak Government service he required lads "spirited but gentle, with fair abilities and rudimentary knowledge. I want them heart and soul in the work. You must remember that they have to share the fortunes of Saráwak, which are not quite so established as the Bank of England, and that tender parents might feel a twinge. Other things being equal, I should decide in favour of the candidate who has least prospects and fewest friends. If a good heart has felt something of the world's wrongs and hardships in youth, it will compassionate the helpless. It is however a mere toss-up; the qualities required cannot be tested; sound judgment and resolute will are not acquired by education, and only improved by practice. A learned fool is as bad or worse a fool than an unlearned one, for he is often a specious fool. Till a man is tried in action, it is a mere lottery. I prefer the donkey simple, but others prefer the donkey erudite. I quarrel not with their taste."

In another letter, also to Mr. Templer, the subject is again dwelt on.

"You are aware how little pecuniary inducement we can offer. They will be poor, but independent, and they will share the success of the Government. If they have higher feelings, they will appreciate being nobly employed and leading a life of usefulness, with its trials, it is true, but likewise with its satisfactions and excitements. Now for the qualifications. Sweet temper is indispensable, judgment in preference to ability, and native ability in preference to acquired; moderate and just-minded, plucky, refined, gentle. If you think them wanting in will and firmness, send them not, for that one want would nullify all the other virtues.

"If you cannot find something superhuman, find me somebody—poor common mortals—with spirit, gentleness, and love of justice, modified and guided by a strong will. Above all, preach to the young fellows so that they do not allow their imaginations to run away with them. They will stand in the rank of gentlemen; they will be our companions—our friends if they deserve it; but the love of base lucre must not lurk in their minds, and they must remember the dull realities of daily life even in this romantic island."

Part of January was spent by the Raja at Santubong in a cottage which kept out the rain but let in the wind, and it blew half a gale continually. It was nevertheless, he writes, "a charming place—the mountain grand, the woods verdant, clear streams and dashing falls; a long stretch of hard sand, a pleasant sea when 'tis smooth, with islands in the distance just far enough for a picnic party. I was out three and four hours a day, scrambling up the mountain streams or shooting plover on the sands, besides an evening ride of some miles." This letter, which is dated February 3rd, continues—"Directly the monsoon has blown itself out, which will be a month hence, I sail off for Lundu to make myself master of the details of that part of the country, so as to be able to administer affairs when Charley Grant leaves me. Besides this, we have reports of copper being found in those parts, and though I am never misled by these 'will-o'-the-wisp' hopes, yet I do not neglect the chances. Tin is again reported. If it is in the earth

it will come out, and much good may it do us. We have struggled with poverty, can we struggle as successfully against prosperity?"

Under date March 6, 1855, there is another long letter to Mr. Templer on the "hateful subject."

"The sooner, dear Jack, you discover the intentions and objects of Government the better, and strengthen my hands by the best legal opinion upon my position in Saráwak. Can a British subject become an independent sovereign of a foreign country so long as he breaks no law? Can he become a feudatory? Can he possess private property in Borneo? And, as a large landed proprietor, is he debarred from sharing in the Government of the country in which he lives? Is he forbidden from becoming the minister of a foreign prince or state? —from obeying the commands of a foreign sovereign?—from performing such acts as are necessary for his own security, and that of his people, tenants, or property? With all these questions, take into consideration the knowledge and the sanction already given to my position by the British Government. You must remember, too, that the question pending is in no wise between the Sovereign of Bruné and myself, or the Sovereign of Bruné and Saráwak—we are in perfect accord. It is, or may be, between the British Government and a British subject, and what we desire to know and to decide is—how far a British subject can be legally restrained by the Government of his own country. Again, remember that the independence of Saráwak is not an independence *de facto* derived from me, but asserted by the inhabitants, and that there is no dispute about it with Bruné. We are independent, and yet we are not independent in a sort of way—the limits of a people's rights are always vague, always difficult to be defined; but what has the British Government to do with the matter? My influence is purely for good to all parties, and so acknowledged to be by all parties; and is the mere fact of my being a British subject to prevent this after a practical recognition of fourteen years? Look well at my statements before the Commission for information, as well

as the protest, and if we can only know what the law of England requires of the subject, my position will, of course, be accommodated to it. The argument to be used against the Government is, that knowing and encouraging at one time, they are now, after a lapse of years, interfering and obstructing, and with no other result than the injury of British subjects. I will obey the law—at least, it is probable—but the Government I will not obey. Tell me the penalties incurred by disobedience. Tell me how far I may go—where I may make a stand.

"These opinions should be given by men whose dicta carry weight, and whose opinions are tantamount to a decision. Would Justice Patteson give an opinion, or Lord Truro, Thesiger, Hill, Willes, Prior, and one or two more of the best Constitutional lawyers, we should be as strong as law can make us."

The mail that carried home the above letter conveyed also one to Mrs. Johnson. With Christmastide had come mourning to Lackington Vicarage, where the dearly loved invalid daughter, after a long and hopeless suffering, had passed away, and March brought the tidings to the Raja.

"It is well, dearest, for you both," he wrote, "that the link of anguish which bound you has been mercifully separated. There was a dark future of increasing infirmity and pain; thankful, therefore, do I feel that she has gone to her rest, and that you are preserved to those who could ill spare you from their sphere. She will become to you a tender memory, a link in futurity, which will be formed again; but you cannot help feeling a solemn joy that she has been removed from her sufferings and her trials, and that the weary one is at rest with God.

"To Martha and Jane [two servants] we are all indebted for their affectionate kindness to the dear child, and for their patience and attention. Tell them, dearest sister, how sensible I am of the noble manner in which they have performed a painful and tedious duty. I can only thank them and admire them for it, for it is not the common way of this hard world.

"Brooke shall certainly come home in October, if by any means we can manage it; and at present I see no difficulty. The only one, indeed, to be anticipated is the marked hostility of the Government. Of course I am indignant, but I should soon be soothed down and forget it I were left alone. Even this I cannot expect to attain. The only evil effects which I perceive as yet from prolonged persecution is the rousing in me of a good deal of temper which will break out. Never mind, dearest; a few months must decide our future, and I am ready to cut the knot, unless Ministers please to untie it."

In April he was at Lundu, and while there, Balaninis being reported, went out in search, and also sent a message of warning to Sambas. The pirates were not to be found, but, he writes, "the Hollanders, like good fellows, despatched a steamer, which touched at Lundu. Might not Lord Palmerston feel ashamed at this little circumstance!"

In May he was back in Saráwak, where his state of mind is shown by a letter to Mr. Read, dated the 9th.

"My policy will some day be acknowledged, though it may be never acted upon; and whether as regards conciliation and parental government of the natives, or the stern repression of piracy and violence, it is the only policy which holds out a prospect of any real commercial prosperity. Let that pass.

"I bequeath this policy to my successors; and already you are crying out for vigorous measures against the pirates. Had my measures of 1848 and 1849 been persevered in, you would not now be complaining of the frightful state of the coast from Chinese marauders and others.

"Piracy will not put itself down; nor will the navy, unassisted by political and practical knowledge, ever succeed in doing so. You must have a network of information. You must be thoroughly conversant with the *genus* pirate, through all its species, and find out the habitation of the beast, and the lairs of the leaders of the herd.

"You ask me when and what justice is to be done in my

affairs. I really do not know; but my friends are confident, and, so soon as the report be received from the Commission, will proceed to action, unless Downing Street surrenders at discretion. There is one thing, and one thing only, which I require—that is, Recognition. Titles, fine clothes, penny trumpets and turtle-soup, are of slight but equal value. I have now fallen into my old way of life; I am really as happy and content as I expect to be; my fair fame has been vindicated; I am weary of contention—I always disliked official employ; I covet nor rank nor riches; I am fifty-two years of age—by nature indolent; unmerited disgrace has left its brand upon my heart. I have friends; I have a consciousness of being well employed, and—I have a poultry-yard and a cottage in the mountain! These reasons, or any of them, would suffice to prevent my mixing myself again in the turmoil and struggles of life; and if you want to retire, as you threaten, you cannot do better than to share my philosophical retreat, without the cares of government—which, however, are light enough. Before you do this, however, in Saráwak or in Rome, you must really tear the love of the world from your heart; I do not add 'as I have done,' because I am not certain that I have done so, that being the very question to be tried."

Meanwhile, at Muka, a river between Bintulu and Oya, north of the Rejang, a tragedy had occurred, and by its effects stopped the growing trade between that place, Singapore, and Saráwak. The account is thus given by the Raja to Mr. Templer:—

"Pangeran Ursut, the ruler of Muka, *right or wrong*, turned his cousin Pangeran Matusen out of the place three years ago. Last year Matusen came back with a letter from the old Sultan, etc., recommending a reconciliation between the cousins. Ursut would not be reconciled, and threatened to fire at Matusen, who retired, but afterwards came back and was allowed to live there quietly. After a few months, Ursut being off his guard, Matusen surprised and killed him, and afterwards slaughtered all the women and children, eleven in number, including Ursut's wife and her five young children.

"I say to you privately, though here I keep it in the depths of my heart, that had not my hands been tied by the British Government I should have prevented this catastrophe. I am going to Bruné chiefly with a view of settling this business, for I won't allow the Bruné Government to countenance such an act. With God's help, I will teach these nobles what good faith means, by example and by broom-stick.

"Matusen's wife and all his children have taken refuge with me, being, not unnaturally, in fear of retaliation. It shows what a rascal I am, and how treacherous and blood-thirsty is the character I have gained hereabouts! Both parties are appealing to me, but as yet I hold a neutrality. Report says that the Sultan has sent the sons of Pangeran Ursut, with his blessing and six cwts. of gunpowder, to fight it out."

In June H.M.S. *Grecian* made her appearance on the Saráwak coast, and was apparently willing to be of use; but she was "in such a hurry, and so hampered with orders to prevent wise and vigorous action, that she could do no good," and she therefore departed, taking Mr. Spenser St. John with her to Labuan, and leaving the Raja to make his own way to Bruné. This he did shortly afterwards, and as he sailed northwards his mind dwelt, as it was continually dwelling, on the aspect of a great policy crippled into meanness, and on the amount of needless and avoidable suffering in the world. Other thoughts mingled with these; in every letter to Mr. Templer there is some mention of the war with Russia. "What the Crimea has been on a large scale, Borneo was before on a small one—a showy beginning, weak progress, profession opposed to practice, vacillation, weakness, contradictory orders, departmental obstruction, and abandonment.

"I wish our gallant, our noble army was as well placed at Sevastopol as we are at Saráwak. I tremble for them, besieging and besieged, an enemy without, superior in numbers, and with no retreat and no reinforcements worthy of the name. Worse than this, the killing winter may be succeeded by a deadly summer. It makes me ill to think of their withering and

dying on the inhospitable shore without striking a blow worthy of their fame and of their numbers."

The visit to Bruné is described to Mr. Templer, July 20th:

"On my arrival I found that Pangeran Makota was absent, and that there was distraction and civil war in speedy prospect. On the one hand was Pangeran Anak Hassim (a reputed son of the late Sultán), who commanded the support of a large party. On the other, the Sultan and Pangeran Muda Mahommed were but ill-supported, and the former has lost power and name from the rapacity of his government, owing to the bad advice of his sole minister, Makota. I need not describe to you the details of misgovernment: trade had become a monopoly and thus been extinguished; the exactions on the coast to the northward had produced dissatisfaction and rebellion; the unfortunate people of Limbang, which country is the granary of Bruné, were reduced to extremity, cruelly plundered by Makota and his sons, and attacked by the Kayans, sometimes at the instigation of Makota, sometimes on their own account; in short, what Saráwak was formerly, Bruné was fast becoming; and when I pulled into the city in my little gun-boat of thirty-five tons, four of the rampongs * had their guns loaded and pointed against each other. Makota was absent, on his way to visit me for the purpose of fetching his wives and children from Sarebus. This was the professed object, but I well knew that he was gone on a plundering expedition to Muka, Oya, etc. Pangeran Matusen had been defeated and fled, and the coast was clear for Makota to lay heavy contributions on that river. The state of things was not promising, therefore, when I entered Bruné; nor had I any definite objects for my visit but the desire to do what I could to help them, and I went at once to the Sultan's to a public audience.

"I was surprised at the very cordial reception—they fired a Royal salute, and not only met me with great cordiality, but talked freely of the wretched condition of the country and their desire that I could do something to improve it. My

* Fortified village, or district of a town.

visit was for a week, but I soon found that my stay must be prolonged if I intended to serve them. The day after my arrival the rival parties drew the ball and fired the powder which had been intended to destroy each other; false reports of all sorts died away, and the city became more tranquil. It was not, however, till the fifth or sixth day that all the great rajas of the country waited upon me by desire of the Sultan, to request that I would take measures for the establishment of the Government and the improvement of the country. They placed the government in my hands, promising to attend to my suggestions. I had then to consider the course to be pursued. I did consider very well, and resolved what to recommend and what to do. The country could not be governed unless the factions were united and some measures of amelioration introduced. Fortunately Makota was absent, and his evil influence not at work. The Sultan is weak and avaricious: thus every advice and device to put money into his pocket is acceptable, without reference to its justice or its mercy. This is the worst side of his character. The better one is his kindly disposition, his wish to do rightly and to act mercifully when not ill advised, and his pluck when roused. Muda Mahommed and all his party are without talent. Anak Hassim I found on inquiry was popular, and kind to the people. The rivers under his sway were well governed, and he dealt fairly with traders and encouraged trade. I could not oppose such a man, and therefore recommended a general reconciliation; not in words—for I trust not in words—but in deeds. I saw each of the principal rajas repeatedly, discussed the government freely—past, present, and future; and, in proof of sincerity, I proposed that the four great wuzeers, or ministers of state, should be installed by the Sultan. The test was—that had any one of these nobles aimed higher than the office allotted him, he would have refused it, and the factions would have continued as they were before; for three years they had been endeavouring, but in vain, to arrange this matter. I forced it on, the appointments were accepted and before I left Brunéi two of the great ministers absolutely installed. Anak

Hassim is tumangong, and in him I have endeavoured to raise up an authority to counterbalance Makota. His character gives me a hope that some good may be done. I plainly explained to him my own views—that there should be, in the first place, a sincere support given to the Sultan, but not to the bad measures resulting from Makota's advice; that no jealousy should be entertained respecting the succession, for the support of the people at large was the best title to the throne, as this support was sure to be given to the most just and the most merciful of the rajas who stood within the pale of succession. In fact, I gave him a great deal of good counsel. I told my own friends the same thing. I had assemblies of the people to listen, and I believe this open course did more than anything else to allay jealousy and the distrust which arises from the fear of treachery. I urged, too, very strongly that everything might be done by quiet means, and nothing but ruin could result from violence; and I pledged myself heart and hand to side with the party attacked, and to oppose with sword and with gun the disturbers of the peace. It was weary work doing all this; but I felt that I was useful, and I was proud that the castaway of his own country should be so trusted and honoured by the people whom he has been accused of ill-using and deceiving!

Before my departure I discovered not only that Pangeran Makota had proceeded on a *plundering expedition*, but that he had received unlimited powers from the Sultan to interfere and manage the affairs of Oya, Muka, etc., the great sago-producing rivers. When this discovery was made, I begged that Makota might be recalled, and the settlement of the rivers placed in the hands of a Pangeran Matali and other residents. The Sultan shuffled and evaded. I insisted. It was not government, I said, but robbery. I would have nothing to do further with Bruné affairs; I would not interfere with these rivers, because I had no right; but I would not allow my name to be used for the purpose of oppression, and I would explain my feelings on such measures publicly, and afterwards, if anything happened to Makota it would serve

him right; and if these rivers resisted the Sultan's authority the fault would be his and not theirs. Propositions and counter-propositions succeeded; the Sultan was as shuffling as the Russians, and I was as obstinate as Napoleon; the great ministers were consulted—they sided with my views; the Sultan gave way, and I now wait here for letters recalling Makota and giving power to Matali to settle the affairs of these rivers. I left Bruné, after holding the Government for a month, and I believe I left it in an improved condition, and in a greatly improved state of feeling, among rich and poor, noble and serf. Many were the pressing instances I received to take up my residence there altogether, or, at any rate, to visit them frequently. With a steamer the latter might be done. I would rather be hanged than submit to the former, for the elements of discord and decay are rife, and I cannot hope that my intervention will do more than postpone the downfall of the State, which is worn-out and vicious in its system of rule. My heart was light as I passed out, and after encountering a squall, which blew great guns for half an hour, the *Jolly* anchored in Labuan.

"*Labuan, July 25th.*—The Sultan's letters arrived the day before yesterday, but, instead of being what they ought to have been, merely dealt in fine words, leaving Makota power to do all the mischief his cunning head and grasping mind could devise and execute. Directly my back was turned the Sultan failed, and his ministers were set aside when they had just been instituted in office; this begets a fresh distrust. The Sultan desires my influence and support and that of his wuzeers, but has shown that his avarice preponderates over his professions of reform, and that Makota's measures are to be upheld. I sent back his letters, refusing to become the bearer of instructions which are not government but robbery. I shall manage Makota so as to prevent his destroying trade, and leave the old Sultan to rue his folly. The good done will work in the minds of the people, and the two factions in Bruné will, I trust, join together to resist oppression, or, at any rate, forbear with each other.

Makota's downfall is sure, but I wish the man no harm if his oppression of the people can be restrained. To-morrow I sail for Muka and Saráwak."

At Labuan Dr. Treacher, who was Acting-Governor, insisted on receiving his old chief with every honour. The state of affairs was not satisfactory; pirates were in the neighbourhood; the natives scared by the continual rumours of their attacks; the military force too weak to give confidence; and red-tapism-ruling supreme, in spite of vigorous opposition on the part of the Doctor, who had, however, only been in office for a few weeks.

From Labuan the Raja returned to Saráwak, leaving negotiations at Muka to his nephews. Mr. Charles Johnson on arrival found the people miserable and desiring a white man's rule. A Rejang chief, one Sheriff Messahore, whose name will often appear from this time in our history, had stirred up the Sarębus and Kanowit Dyaks, and with their help treacherously overcome Matusen and slaughtered forty-five of his people, mostly women. Matusen was popular among the poorer classes, and his attack on Ursut appeared to have been a sudden outbreak of Malay pride under indignities from his cousin. He fled now to Saráwak, where the Raja allowed him to remain, while Sheriff Messahore was heavily fined for stirring up the Rejang Dyaks, deposed from his government of Serikei, and forced by Captain Brooke to set free one hundred captives, and to give up thirty-six brass guns, which were forwarded to the Sultan.

The whole of the country immediately north and south of the Batang Lupar was at this time under Mr. Charles Johnson, and here, more especially at his head-quarters, Sakarran, head-taking was being steadily put down. The measures pursued for this purpose are thus described by him—

"Our Dyaks were eternally requesting to be allowed to go for heads, and their urgent entreaties often bore resemblance to children crying after sugar-plums. My head Malay chief, a most trusty man, Abang Aing, had generally to bear

the brunt of these incomers, and he was invaluable in giving me his support. Hour after hour he would sit and in a soothing voice and manner urge the chiefs to restrain their people. When his arguments were to no purpose, his final remark would be, 'Well, you know I have warned you, and if you attempt anything of the sort, we have arms, powder, and shot; therefore do as you think proper.' Often parties of four or five would go away to Bugau and Katnu, where the inhabitants are not so warlike as the Sakarran and Sarebus Dyaks.

"As soon as ever one of these parties started, or even listened to birds of omen preparatory to moving, a party was immediately despatched by Government to endeavour to cut them off, and to fine them heavily on their return; or, in the event of their bringing heads, to demand the delivering up of them, and the payment of a fine into the bargain. This was the steady and unflinching work of years; and before many months were over my stock of heads became numerous and the fines considerable. Some refused to pay or follow the directions of Government; these were declared enemies, and had their houses burned down forthwith, and the people who followed me to do the work would be Dyaks of some other branch tribe in the same river. My feeling was from the first an intense interest in the people, and I could not very severely blame them for head-hunting. It was an old-established custom of their forefathers, and they considered it their duty to maintain it. Nevertheless, my business was to prevent it to the utmost, and the only way of doing this effectually was by a strong hand and steady perseverance. Besides, if these head-hunting parties had not been prohibited, they would have much increased, and our Dyaks, having protection from the Government fort and arms, would have been able to obtain heads with impunity. I had afterwards to burn down one of the principal Orang Kaya's houses for disobeying Government orders in advancing in search of heads after he had been forbidden. This step made Abang Aing and many Malays feel great anxiety; but I took it as simply a matter of duty and justice to strike at the chiefs with greater severity than the

lower-class men. The Dyaks followed me by hundreds, and, after the flames of the house were glaring high above the old jungle trees, we retired in time to stop the advance of a large straggling force which was coming to assist us. In returning some spears were thrown at my boat, but they fell astern and did no harm."

Before long there occurred an aggravated case of assault on the part of a chief named Si Jannah, who was immediately fined twelve rusa jars, equivalent in money value to nearly £200. Such a fine was hitherto unknown, £8 being the usual sum demanded; but it was at once paid, and it served as a powerful argument in Abang Aing's future exhortations. "Remember," he would say, "Jannah's twelve jars, the fine for killing; and if you cannot pay, your life will have to answer."

Jannah bore no malice, and was for years afterwards a good and loyal subject, ready on all occasions to advance the cause which once he had retarded.

The sum realized by these fines found its way back to the people. The Raja's directions to his nephew (March 19, 1855) are that it should be "liberally and judiciously applied to the purposes of good government, and as rewards for good service." A portion was always given to the chiefs, both Malay and Dyak, who sided with the Government, and brought the unruly to order; and there was a clear understanding among all parties that the infliction did not mean that their English Raja wished to increase his finances, but it did mean that he had said piracy, whether by land or sea, should be abolished, and abolished therefore it must be.

In Saráwak Proper, as the original province was now called, peace reigned, but he who had been the means of bringing this immense boon to others was himself perplexed with anxious thoughts. So much depended on the course the English Government might take; and now, to the long delay before the Commission, had succeeded a long delay in the judgment. A year had almost elapsed, and no word or sign came from those whom once he called his friends. It

was true that the whole heart of England was with her suffering army in the Crimea. While the Commission sat the battles of the Alma, Balaklava, and Inkerman were fought; but the delay was not the less injurious because some reason might be found for it.

The difficulties of his position, the best course for him to pursue, and the probable action of Lord Palmerston, were subjects of much discussion among the Rája's friends at home.

Various suggestions are commented on in a letter to Mr. Templer, written by the Raja on his return from Labuan.

"*August* 20, 1855.—With every wish to act rightly and to conciliate the Ministers, I do not see how I can do the latter if it be reduced to a mere 'can we, can thee' bargain. In this matter, however, I distrust myself, for there must be (though I do not see it) a cloud of passion and prejudice over my mind, more or less dense. If Lord Grey, Lord Ellesmere, and yourself consider any course right and honourable, as sacrificing nothing to self-interest at the expense of principles, I will bind myself to follow it, for you must be better judges than I can be, and if you are dishonest I shall be dishonest too, and believe no longer in public virtue and patriotism. 'Trust thyself' is a good axiom, but 'distrust thyself in due season' is no bad maxim either, and we ought to distrust ourselves when passion is at work. I will write to Lord Ellesmere when matters are a little more advanced, and I need not repeat my sense of obligation to him and to Lord Grey for their exertions. You must, too, say all that is kind to Drummond."

The letter continues—

"I was delighted to hear so good an account of yourself and all your belongings. I keep the results of my fowl mania and experience a profound secret from Hannah and the world at large, but I shall astonish her some day with a treatise on this important and overwhelming subject.

"The accounts of the war absorb me more than I can tell you excepting by saying that my own affairs, my war with Government, sink into secondary importance. We shall beat the Russians in the Crimea, spite of our repulse at the

Malakoff, or half a dozen such; but we shall have Germany on us after a certain point of success or failure. We shall beat them too, but with immense effort; and at every fresh success there should be definite terms offered for Russia's acceptance. One cannot read the Vienna protocols without being struck at the want of strong purpose, and the elaborate perversion of words and phrases.

"Our excellent Bishop Elect leaves us on Saturday for Calcutta, and Mrs. McDougall, who has been suffering, is, I am happy to say, better. I read the note referring to Miss Martineau from her niece with great interest, for I truly admire her, and I deplore that she is to be taken from the world before we meet. I have read 'Eastern Life.' It is, indeed, a suggestive work, and one that required a truly bold spirit to pen. There is none of the puny cant of the day in it. I wish I could say what I thought and felt in regard to her generous feeling towards myself, not for myself, but for the sake of justice."

The *Westminster Review*, of October, 1854, containing an article by Miss Martineau on Raja Brooke, had reached him shortly after the closing of the Commission of Inquiry. His remark at the time was, "Miss Martineau's article is very good, so far as I can judge from a hasty perusal, but these things have ceased to fillip my vanity, or to stir my ambition. I feel like a tenant at will in this world, and I do not desire to mix again whether in its society or its vanities."

He was not at the time personally acquainted with Miss Martineau, but later on tidings of her serious illness, referred to above, drew from him another expression of his feeling.

"I hope if she still survives that you will convey to her my warmest acknowledgments for the past, my sympathy, if hope be not permitted, for the future. She has shown a noble and disinterested heart. I wish I could have thanked her in person, not so much for what she has done as for what she has felt. Hers will be a great loss, but I have no selfish regret except the sorrow caused by the loss of a person so talented, so respected, so generous, and to whom I am so deeply indebted."

CHAPTER XXV.

1855, 1856.

The Commissioners were unable to agree on a joint account of their proceedings under the Commission, and, as they also differed in their view of the result of the evidence, they drew up separate reports. Regarding the result of the evidence, Mr. Prinsep was of opinion that, though the Sarebus and Sakarran tribes were distinctly piratical, yet that the attacks on them "under Captain Keppel and Captain Farquhar were prompted rather by consideration for the injuries sustained by the inhabitants and settlers of Saráwak than by any injuries sustained by British subjects." Further, that though Sir James Brooke had habitually done his utmost to check atrocities, yet that in the attack under Captain Farquhar "a boat under his [the Raja's] orders had brought alongside his vessel three heads, whereby it clearly appeared that neither the authority of Sir James Brooke, nor his offer of reward for prisoners brought in alive, was sufficient to deter even the subjects of his own Raj from atrocities revolting to European feelings, and wholly inconsistent with civilized warfare. I cannot," continues Mr. Prinsep, "but consider this unfortunate consequence of acting in concert with savage allies to be a strong ground against the investing an individual holding authority under a half-savage chieftain [the Sultan], with any such official character under the Crown of Great Britain as that then held by Sir James Brooke. . . . It is in my opinion neither necessary nor prudent that he [Sir James Brooke] should be entrusted by the British Crown with any discretion to determine which of these tribes are piratical, or

with any power to call for the aid of her Majesty's naval forces for their punishment. Indeed, his own tender of resignation of the offices of Consul-General and Commissioner for Trade was made, as stated by himself, under the conviction of their incompatibility with his position at Saráwak. I find that position to be no other than that of a vassal of the Sultan of Bruné, holding, indeed, by a tenure very lax and easy to be thrown off altogether, but which, in the existing relations between the Sultan and Great Britain, contracted by Sir James Brooke himself, as the representative of the British Crown, it would be impossible for the latter power to disregard so long as the Sultan of Borneo shall remain on the terms of amity contracted by the treaty above mentioned."

Mr. Prinsep's judgment can hardly be called exhaustive. Mr. Devereux goes more fully into each head of inquiry. In his opinion the Sarebus and Sakarran were piratical tribes; they attacked without distinction all classes, and took both the heads of their victims and plunder. No cause of offence was alleged for their attacks, and no other Dyak tribes made similar attacks. Being pirates it was, therefore (Mr. Devereux writes), "both just and expedient, and in conformity with the obligations of treaty, that punishment should be inflicted on them with a view to the suppression of their atrocious outrages. The exact measure of punishment which should have been inflicted is a question which it does not belong to me to decide; but I may say that it was essential the thing should be done, and done effectually. So far as regards the loss of life inflicted on them there does not appear any reasonable ground for sympathy with a race of indiscriminate murderers."

Regarding the atrocities affirmed to have been committed by our native allies, there was no evidence to prove it. It was almost an unheard-of thing for a Sarebus or Sakarran Dyak to allow himself to be taken alive, and atrocities, therefore, in the ordinary sense of the term, could not easily be committed, except in the possible case of women and children being

slaughtered. Sir James Brooke had stated that without the Dyak allies the English could not have got through the country. If it were necessary to enter the country, it would be presumably necessary to employ the means required; and, as in every large European force there was a small proportion who would commit atrocities when out of the sight of their officers, it was by no means improbable, though purely conjectural, that "when out of sight of their English leaders the allied Dyaks acted in the manner which may be expected of barbarians."

The hindrance to peace on the coast of Borneo and to the full development of trade had been, till 1849, the conduct of the Sarebus and Sakarran Dyaks. That hindrance was to a certain degree removed by the result of the expedition under Captain Farquhar.

"Whether it is necessary," Mr. Devereux continues, "that Sir James Brooke should be entrusted with a discretion to determine which tribes are piratical, etc., must depend on the position, if any, which Sir James Brooke may hold in her Majesty's service.

"From the whole course of the evidence which has been taken in connection with this subject, whether as regards the atrocities formerly committed by the Sarebus and Sakarran Dyaks, or the injury to native trade caused by Illanun and Belanini pirates, it appears most desirable that there should be an authority empowered to call for the aid of her Majesty's naval forces for the suppression of piracy. The Treaty of Borneo engages Great Britain to supress piracy on the north-west coast of Borneo; and unless the charge of doing so is committed to some naval officer, or some civil authority, whether her Majesty's Commissioner, or some other British officer who is empowered to call for the aid of the requisite naval forces in the usual manner, that object, so important to the trade which is now springing up, and to the comparative tranquillity which has been recently introduced, can scarcely be attained.

"In regard to the combination of the offices of Commis-

sioner and Consul-General with the position of Ruler of Saráwak, Sir James Brooke stated that he considered the duties of the former office unbefitting his position at Saráwak. His lengthened experience of the union of the two characters is a voucher for the correctness of the opinion, and I see no reason to dissent from it. At the same time it may be stated, as regards the past, that the junction of the two positions has had beneficial results, in leading to the Treaty of Borneo, the cession of Labuan, and the recent considerable and growing extension of trade along the north-west coast of Borneo."

The question of the Raja's position, dismissed by Mr. Prinsep in a couple of lines, is treated on by Mr. Devereux in a separate memorandum of seven quarto pages. It did not appear to him a simple affair, but one full of complications. Practically the solution lay with the British Government; in theory there were inconsistencies.

He summarizes the Raja's own statements in the following way:—

"It [Saráwak] is *de jure* dependent.

"It is *de facto* absolutely independent.

"It cannot be called strictly independent where there is that deed,* with a payment of £1000 [to Borneo] on demise.

"If the deed was infringed, or he [the Raja] was to go away, it would resolve itself into a question of power.

"If he was not there to reconcile them, they would certainly fight to-morrow.

"It has all the ordinary powers of a Government: can form treaties, make war, etc.

"The tenure includes no acts of service whatever.

"The relation actually is a kindly one, and may be likened to that of a feudal lord and feudatory.

"Sir James Brooke holds it to be compatible with actual independence. He instances Burgundy in older times, and likewise Naples with regard to the Pope. It is his position at

* "I hold Saráwak by a deed of cession upon the payment of £1000 at the demise of each succeeding holder of Saráwak, that is of myself, or my heirs."—*Evidence of Sir James Brooke before the Commissioners, November*, 6, 1854.

Saráwak which reconciles the people of Saráwak to the rights claimed by Borneo; for if he was away Saráwak would become independent to-morrow."

Added to this, Sir James Brooke claimed the right of alienating Saráwak. He had stated in his evidence that he had offered to make it over to the British Crown, and his offer was refused; also that "supposing the British Government should not afford protection against piracy, or against foreign innovations, it would then become his duty to relinquish Saráwak to any nation which would afford the requisite aid to insure its security."

"It is abundantly clear that Sir James Brooke considers himself entitled to transfer Saráwak from its present position to that of a dependency on some other nation. The right to do this is incompatible with the view that Saráwak is a part of the dominions of the Sultan. One difficulty in the way of assenting to the existence of this right is that Sir James Brooke's position in Saráwak is declared to reconcile the people of Saráwak to the rights claimed by Borneo, and therefore those rights are in full force. Another is, so far as at present appears, the right of the Sultan to a payment on demise of each incumbent. The transfer to another nation would extinguish the payment of the Sultan, unless that mode of payment was commuted to another with his consent, and his consent would therefore seem to be a necessary preliminary to such transfer; in other words, the Sultan's right seems a bar to such transfer."

The applicability or otherwise of the Treaty of Borneo, of 1847, to Saráwak was an equally perplexing question. "Sir James Brooke has declared the British treaty not to apply to Saráwak; on the other hand the Commissioners have been instructed that by no act of her Majesty's Government has countenance ever been given to Sir James Brooke's assumption of independence, and that his possession of Saráwak has never been considered otherwise by them than as a private grant bestowed by a foreign sovereign upon a British subject.

"Now, an examination of the treaty will show that some

of its provisions are framed in a manner calculated to apply to Saráwak, if it was the intention that they should so apply, while others are superfluous. . . . Viewing these facts in combination it seems probable her Majesty's Government may have intended the treaty to apply to Saráwak, and may have acted on the assumptions that that territory was a dependency of Borneo, and that Sir James Brooke, being in the double position of negotiator of the treaty and of ruler of Saráwak, virtually consented, in negotiating it, to the application of the treaty to Saráwak. It is also possible that, notwithstanding that impression, Saráwak might have been at the time independent, and understood to be so both by the Sultan and Sir James Brooke. This is a matter which only her Majesty's Government can decide, but it has occurred to me as the most probable explanation of the facts under review."

". . . A perusal of this paper will, I apprehend, not tend to confirm the opinion that independence of Borneo can be rightly said to have been claimed and exercised by Sir James Brooke from the date of the ratification of the grant by the Sultan in 1842. I rather incline to the belief that, in a somewhat intricate and confused question of international law, it has been difficult to form a consistent judgment on discordant materials, and that such a judgment still remains to be formed."

With regard to the "character of a British subject," Mr. Devereux, after stating his reasons, gives as his conclusion, "I should not be inclined to uphold the opinion that Sir James Brooke, or any other British subject, can attain to the position of being an independent ruler of a foreign territory. Whatever his position may finally be decided to be, there is no reason to apprehend that the difficulties which may beset it will cause him to forget his duties as a British subject; for, with reference to the possibility of such difficulties arising, he made the following declaration—

"I see no reason to apprehend it, and no such difficulty has arisen in the course of thirteen years. But such a difficulty no doubt might arise; and should such a difficulty arise

which would make my position at Saráwak incompatible with my obedience as a British subject, that position would be relinquished."

Both Commissioners agreed that the charge of trading could not be sustained; and, touching other charges, each gives his own account of how they sat in the Judgment-hall and no accusers appeared; while in regard to injury to British subjects in a corporate capacity, the Eastern Archipelago Company, "by public advertisement, disclaimed all intention of appearing on the Commission."

The reports of the Commissioners, together with the remonstrance of the memorialists, the address of the Chinese residents, and the Raja's protest against the instructions, and other papers, were passed on by the India Board to the Foreign Office on April 10, 1855, before which time the Coalition Government issuing the Commission had ceased to exist. The new Ministry, succeeding under Lord Palmerston, was a reconstruction of the old, excluding Lord Aberdeen and the Duke of Newcastle; but in February, Sir James Graham, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Sidney Herbert, and in June, after the Vienna Conference, Lord J. Russell, had again resigned. Lord Clarendon remained Secretary for Foreign Affairs. His despatch to Sir James Brooke, in view of the Commissioners' report, etc., reached Saráwak in October, 1855. Here it is, together with a letter from the Rajá that accompanied a copy* sent by him to Mr. Templer:—

"Foreign Office, 9th August, 1855.

"Sir,—I have hitherto deferred replying to your despatch of September 24, 1853, resigning the appointments of her Majesty's Commissioner and Consul-General in Borneo, as I considered that it would have been unjust towards you to accept your resignation, pending the inquiry then about to be instituted respecting you.

"As that inquiry is now closed, I no longer defer formally

* This copy has not been found, and we are indebted to the courtesy of the Foreign Secretary, the Earl of Derby, for the above.

accepting your resignation; and in transmitting to you copy of the report of the Commission appointed to conduct the inquiry, together with copy of a letter which I have addressed to the President of the India Board thereupon, I have to express to you the satisfaction of her Majesty's Government at the result of the inquiry, and their approval of the manner in which you have discharged the duties entrusted to you as her Majesty's Commissioner and Consul-General.

"I have further to acquaint you that her Majesty's Government have selected Mr. St. John to succeed you in the appointment of Consul-General, but without the title of Commissioner, which it is not intended to continue.

"I have, etc.,

"CLARENDON.

"Sir James Brooke, etc., etc., etc."

"*Saráwak, October* 22, 1855.—Read, mark, and learn. Is this justice? I call it an aggravation of wrong. They have betrayed as noble a cause as God ever gave to man to perform. They have persecuted me with a malignant spite, and, failing in their attempt to achieve my ruin, lo! there comes a cold approbation!—and the information that Mr. St. John has been selected as Consul-General. To the India Board they communicate that they are unable to form any opinion on my position. . . . I have informed St. John that until he is formally accredited by his Government he will not be Consul-General for Saráwak. Secondly, I have told him that the Government of Saráwak declines permitting a foreign jurisdiction.

"I followed Lord Grey's advice, and appointed a Council of State, composed of Brooke, C. Johnson, Datu Bandar, Datu Tumangong, Datu Imaum, Tuan Katib, and myself. The four native chiefs and myself were present at our first meeting. I explained to them most minutely the position in which their country was placed, and the question of my title either as independent or under Brunéi. I expressed no previous opinion, and it would have amused even Lord Clarendon himself to have heard them. Had they not fought against

Borneo? Had they not been tyrannically oppressed? Could Bruné ever have subdued them if the Raja (myself) had not arrived and made up the quarrel? They would fight against Borneo again. They were a free people and not under Bruné.

"In the next place I explained the appointment of the Consul-General and the probability of a consular court being established. What was their opinion? It was positively against it. 'But supposing,' I asked, 'it is insisted upon, what are we to do?' Here came the great puzzle—fighting was out of the question, and the only suggestion made was that the Saráwak people and Government might retire up the country!

"I then took the initiative and explained that my view was, if a consular court was forced upon us, that we should resign the protection of British subjects, as well as their trial to the Consul—that our Government should wash its hands of them altogether. This proposition was adopted warmly, and we are prepared to carry it out whenever we are forced to do so. British subjects will have no protection short of their Government taking possession of the country. Saráwak trade will be nearly swept away, and its revenues will go with it; we shall not have many to support, and we shall try each man's metal. Dogs that bask in the sunshine do not always brave the tempest. This is the touch-stone. If the British Government give way, well and good; if not, the storm will break, and though I shall attempt its guidance, the damage done and the end of it are not to be foreseen.

"St. John will report by the next mail on this subject, as Lord Clarendon has called upon him for a scheme of jurisdiction. The British Government must lead off the ball—we follow; but, like the Russians, Saráwak stands purely on the defensive, ready to suffer but not ready to submit. My great desire is to cut the knot which we cannot unravel.

"Ten years of vacillation and uncertainty have elapsed, and nothing settled. Life is too short, events progress here too rapidly for the tortoise-pace of official routine and Parliamentary discussion. Everywhere and in everything is seen

that temporizing want of vigour, that ostrich-like shutting of eyes and running of heads in a bush to hide difficulties, that calling for help from Providence without helping ourselves. Everywhere the same, and everywhere ruin and disaster will follow.

"Out of trial and of suffering come success and true nobility. I shall sow but I shall not reap. I shall have suffered and perhaps must still suffer; but I am content when I look upon Saráwak; and if its prosperity, its mere outward prosperity, be destroyed, I know that the seed of true freedom is sown, and, although it may be watered by the tears of affliction, it will some day spring up and bear fruit of better flavour than the apples of trade, or the crabs of piece goods, or the luscious durion of wealth. Brooke must ride the whirlwind when I am gone, and let the people of Saráwak take a bitter lesson of adversity to teach them true freedom and the full appreciation of security and government. My pen runs away because my heart is in this theme.

"I do not reply to Lord Clarendon's letter, and shall not. Now, if they recognize Saráwak, it will be for their own sakes. I shall not even thank them. If they desire my co-operation they may ask it through the Consul-General, and it shall be afforded because it is my duty to give it."

If the subject of the Commission came before Parliament, Mr. Templer was to remember, among other things, that, "though the truth has come out, it has not come out in full force. It is the truth, but not the whole truth, and, throughout, my accusers have been screened. How does Lord Clarendon justify the transmission of Mr. Hume's letter to the Commissioners, containing charges utterly ignored by the instructions—small peccadillos, such as murder, piracy, etc.? and how comes this document to be omitted from the Blue-book?"

Subsequent letters dwell upon a project maturing at home, and which, under the name of the Borneo Company, was afterwards carried out. No single step, the Raja wrote, should be taken till the English Government should give up their

claim to jurisdiction. The natives were not always easily managed, British subjects then in the country had occasionally to come to him for assistance, and how would it be, he asks, if he had to refuse to give help?

He was anxious that those who were willing to provide the capital, and who had already given time and thought, should not misunderstand him; the arrangement proposed was all that he could wish; it would work for the honest and *bonâ fide* development of the country, which he had aimed at ten years before, and he believed the results would be favourable to native and British interests. "Yet," he goes on to say, "with this object so near my heart, I am obliged to postpone the final ratification. Did I desire wealth, I could obtain it now by the sacrifice of native interests. Did I desire rank or European position, an expedient submission would soon procure it; but a higher principle than progress is involved, and in the discharge of my trust I must forego the dictates of ambition, and brave the misfortunes which it may entail. I need not tell you how sorry I am for this, or how painful in one sense it is to take the rugged path when the flowery mead is before me. But, whatever may come, the principle of native independence, of native rights, and native self-government must be upheld; and it is a simple duty not to mislead the parties who have come forward, by suppressing the position in which we are placed, or by concealing my own conviction of the result should the British Government insist upon forcing a consular jurisdiction upon Saráwak and the districts under her rule, or attempt to introduce an arrangement made with the Sultan.

". . . . In refusing a foreign jurisdiction, we offer at the same time all that could be desired or is possessed by Englishmen in their own country. We offer trial by jury, that the Consul-General shall be one of the judges, and that no punishment shall be inflicted on British subjects, repugnant to or in excess of English law."

"There are many troubles before me, even ruin on the cards; but there are honour and duty to sustain me. I shrink

from doubt as I shrink from pain, but when it really arrives I can bear and suffer. Farewell! My mind is relieved by writing this letter, and my heart beats high at the glorious news of the fall of Sevastopol. How deeply is the love of country entwined about our heart-strings! It astonishes me."

From Peninjau, the "dear mountain-home," where Nature, he says, was beautiful, and he was at peace and could enjoy her "whenever these hateful discussions intermit," he wrote again, October 30th. "I have told the people of Sarawak that ruin or death is preferable far to an acknowlegdment, even tacitly, of a dependency on Borneo. The rights of a people are as indefeasible at one moment as another, in time present as in time past, and yet the Ministers and their officials talk as though the people had no rights. They are tyrants to all, and everywhere except in Parliament, just as nine-tenths of Englishmen are tyrants in action out of England. The English in India, the Dutch in Java, never consider the rights of the people. Yet there are such things before God—and acknowledged in Saráwak! Can the reports of the Commission or the dictum of Downing Street abolish this thing? Call Thomas Carlyle directly, and come and see whether it is not a fact!

"The long and the short of this business is, that if the British Government acknowledge Sarawak its difficulties will be over. This acknowledgment need not go further than allowing their Consul-General to receive his *exequatur*.

"From Lord Clarendon we can expect nothing, but it may be that there are members in the Cabinet not inclined to be trailed through the mire of a road leading to palpable and indelible future condemnation and disgrace. For very shame's sake, Lord Palmerston should, by an effort of memory, recall his own words and his own acts when Foreign Minister."

On December 29th, the Raja wrote to Mr. W. H. Read, in reply to a letter, "I am afraid whatever you may now suffer at Singapore from the legislation of Bengal, or the extension of piracy, and feebleness at home, that the petition of the merchants will carry no weight, and they [the Government]

will awake to the truth that it is easy to destroy, but difficult to construct or reconstruct. They have destroyed *the system* for the suppression of piracy and for the extension of British influence and commerce. They have broken the machine, and must not be surprised if the labour of their hands be insufficient for the purpose in future. They have not injured me (merely separating me from Government employ, is a benefit and not an injury), but I was the contriver and the mainspring of the new machine, and if the other portions could be put together, it would be difficult to find another engineer who, from position, from willingness, experience, and knowledge of the natives, could supply my place."

It is evident from the Raja's letters that Mr. Spenser St. John did not at this crisis consider the British Government would be justified in insisting on a jurisdiction, and that he was willing to resign his appointment rather than be a party to such a course. At a meeting of the four principal native chiefs, now members of the Council of State, he heard their freely expressed opinions.

They had, they said, nothing to do with Bruné. Bruné had cruelly oppressed them, and they had rebelled and offered their country to the Dutch.* Since then they had chosen Mr. Brooke to be their king. They had chosen him, and they would support him, for the bond between them "was as close as their skin to their flesh." They had ceased to look to the Sultan as their head; they looked only to their Raja, who

* The assertion made on this occasion by the Saráwak chiefs is corroborated by M. Dedel: "En 1838 les révoltés s'adressèrent aux fonctionnaires Néerlandais à Sambas, et les invitèrent à venir planter le drapeau Néerlandais au milieu de leur camp. Un émissaire de Sarawak se rendit même à Batavia en 1839, avec la mission d'inviter le Gouverneur-Général de la part des insurgés à se joindre à ce mouvement; mais ce fonctionnaire se refusa hautement à la coopération qu'on demandait de lui. Le Gouvernment des Pays Bas entretenait les meilleurs rapports d'amitié et la bonne intelligence avec le Sultan de Borneo Proper. Il ne lui convenait donc pas, en égárd à ces rapports, et mettant de côté toute autre considération de droit et de justice, de venir figurer dans cette mêlée pour appuyer les insurgés dans leur coupables desseins contre le pouvoir souverain de leur Prince. Sur ces entrefaites le Sieur Brooke arriva à Sarawak."—*Despatch to the Earl of Aberdeen, March* 20, 1846.

had protected them and advanced their best interests, and turned "an empty country into a full one." Was it possible for them to think of acknowledging such a Government as that of Bruné? They were a free people. They had fought for their rights and were ready to fight again, and they would retire to the Dutch territories rather than again submit to Bruné.

The Datu Imaum spoke of the trial of British subjects, saying they had heard that at Bruné the Consul-General was to have that power, but such a thing could not be introduced into Saráwak without the greatest confusion. The people were accustomed to all trials being carried on in open courts, and would be very dissatisfied if any foreign jurisdiction were attempted. It was true they were few in number; they could not resist a great nation, but they would prefer abandoning their country to having their laws and customs interfered with.

"Mr. St. John knows what has been stated to be true," said the Datu Bandar, "and we request, therefore, that he will not allow the British Government to remain in ignorance." They had chosen their Raja, but they repudiated any agreement made with the Sultan of Bruné. It was between the Raja and the Sultan, but had nothing to do with them. With regard to the trial of British subjects, mentioned by the Datu Imaum, he (the Bandar) could not see why it should not be continued as heretofore; and as British subjects had been tried in the Saráwak court, and were contented with the jurisdiction, why should any change be made? The members of the Council must request Mr. St. John to represent these matters to the British Ministers; and, above all, that Saráwak was an independent country."

After this there followed another period of uncertainty, during which, and especially when pain of body was added to mental distress, the Raja was "well-nigh desperate. The harassing anxiety of mind," he writes, "tells fearfully. I never escape these thoughts—the sense of injustice and the advent of ruin to Saráwak."

Perhaps it was well for him to have his time fully occupied. Captain Brooke went to England in September; Mr. Arthur Crookshank, who had preceded him, had not returned, and officers were scarce.

In February, 1856, the Raja, accompanied by Mr. Charles Johnson, went to Serikei, a river running into the Rejang, twenty-five miles from its mouth. Sheriff Messahore had governed, or rather plundered, here; but, in disgust at the fine inflicted on him, the great man had departed, leaving his village in ruins. A fort was erected on the spot, and, placing a small garrison in charge, the Raja returned to Saráwak and Mr. Johnson to the Sakarran. Shortly before his uncle's summons to this expedition arrived he had received from him a lecture on political economy. Here it is:—

"By the bye, *my dear sir*, I mean to talk a chapter of political economy to you when we meet, about stopping the course of trade for the object of feeding the Sakarran folks."

The promised chapter was written a week later.

"1st. The freedom of trade is a *great principle* to be maintained, spite of temporary inconvenience or distress. There should be no limitation or distinction of this principle in the different parts of our State; for once admit this distinction, and the right to apply it, and you have different States with different interests, instead of one State with a common interest in its component portions. To buy in the cheapest, and to sell in the dearest market, is the privilege of every man in the State of Saráwak. Now, you will consider the effect of promulgating a law stopping trade altogether and preventing the export of your great staple, rice.

"2nd. It is favouring the consumer of Sakarran at the expense of the consumer of Saráwak, and the consumer of Saráwak receives double injury because he has been led to rely on the principle of free trade, and, therefore, had not taken precautions against the failure of supply from your river.

"If there was no rice in the country the prohibition was needless. If there was only a limited supply, sufficient for Sakarran itself, why interfere to lessen the price to the con-

sumer by forbidding competition? The people of Sakarran could always have bought the rice by paying the proper market value for it. Your prohibition destroys competition, and thus favours the Sakarran consumer at the expense of the Sakarran producer or holder—for, competition forbidden, price falls. Look at the effect on the proprietor. High prices are his gain and true benefit. A man of prudence and forethought holds on the produce of his farm awaiting the season when he knows that prices will rise, and when he should be rewarded the Government steps in with an arbitrary prohibition to prevent his selling in the dearest market. It is, in fact, taking so much money out of the holder's pocket to put it into the pocket of the man who buys from him.

"One more consideration, dear Charley, and that is the consequences which would result if each community in the States had the right and acted upon it of monopolizing the trade of their respective districts, in arbitrarily interfering with the imports and exports. What would be the result? Think of this, my child, and in future do not in thought or deed infringe on the great principle of free trade, even to save the Sakarran people and others, for the motto must be 'senang sama senang, sakit sama sakit' [mutual comfort or mutual discomfort] to each and every community of the State. Now, as a punishment, I order you to read the longest-winded book on political economy you can procure."

In a later letter, referring again to this subject, the Raja wrote—"Your reasons for stopping trade were natural and almost good, not quite sufficient."

In the end of May, Lord Clarendon's answer to Mr. St. John arrived. Her Majesty's Government had no wish to interfere or to question the right of Saráwak to choose its own government, and would allow the courts established by the Raja to exercise a jurisdiction over British subjects. They could not authorize their Consul-General to apply for an *exequatur*, but they were anxious that Sir James Brooke should be enabled to pursue the good work he had already so successfully carried on.

A minute of Council was immediately recorded, requesting Mr. St. John to express on behalf of the Saráwak Government its contentment with the arrangement.

"Clouds have passed away," the Raja writes, "sunshine has burst upon the darkness of the past years, and I welcome it with thankfulness. The Government has done far more than I expected, and our misunderstanding is at an end. I am in charity with all men, not confounding right and wrong, but forgiving, and, I hope, forgiven. All who please may laugh at my inconsistency—inconsistent I am beyond a shadow of doubt, but what is one's reason given for but to correct our impulses and passion, and the sooner the better. I am not vindictive. Miss Martineau's advice touched the right chord of my heart, and I have controlled, nay, I have eradicated, the bitterness which persecution had engendered. I am the happier for it. Tell Miss Martineau that I will be as generous as she wishes. It is right to be so, and you and she may rest assured that the gall excited will pass away. Impressions are as adamant on my mind, but I would never withhold forgiveness from those who needed it. I will, therefore, be good for my own sake, if for nothing better. The height of virtue may be the depth of selfishness, and even if it were so, the world would gain by it.

"I cannot, however, confound right with wrong. . . . Hume, I am now convinced, was not guilty of anything more than stupidity and perversity. I have forgiven him long ago. Herewith I send you a general amnesty under our royal hand and seal."

In a later letter he writes, "I am inclined to make large allowance for some of those who have taken a strong part against me. . . . Cobden's was a mere political move, and Hume's arose from stupidity, from obstinacy, and, latterly, from pique and anger. That old fellow would chew a file rather than be foiled in cracking a nut. He ought to beg my pardon, but, instead, will grow clamorous about the unfairness of the inquiry. It is all the same!"

"I do not know how to express my thanks to Lord Grey

and Lord Ellesmere," comes in another letter. "Dear Jack, gratitude is exhausted, and I seem to consider you a part of myself. A load of anxiety and of wakeful thoughts is off my mind. Has my conscience any right to reproach me for causing you anxiety and labour in my affairs? God knows I would spare you in that or in anything else that would do you good, but you might not thank me, and the remedy might be worse than the disease. But the worst is over; there is nothing to fret about as before, and, at all events, you must not annoy yourself about law or anything else."

This was the first outburst of relief from intense pain and anxiety, but the wound was healed only on its surface. A few civil words from the Government, and the abandonment of a position practically untenable, could hardly obliterate, still less make amends for, the past. How far, if at all, Lord Palmerston's Government attempted to make an *amende*, Mr. St. John may possibly be able to show. Beyond the fact of their repayment to the Raja of his Commission expenses, his letters to Mr. Templer, of which extracts follow, give no clue.

"*July 7th.*—I quite forgive, but you must not therefore conclude that I the less condemn those who have violated principles and attempted my destruction, and worse—the destruction of my work. I thank them sincerely for stopping short of this consummation. I cannot approve the character or conduct of these men. I have not been justly or fairly dealt with. Saráwak stands isolated, without a link to bind her to England, and I am separated from my native country."

This sense of the isolation of Saráwak pressed on him henceforth with an increasing weight. He did not fear immediate danger, but foresaw danger in prospect, which alliance with a friendly power would avert.

"Such an alliance," he wrote, September 20th, "should not frustrate a most perfect, good understanding with England. Saráwak cannot afford to play this game in the happy-go-lucky style, nor trust to events to suggest conduct. We must be prepared, for to be forewarned is to be forearmed. The

interest of Saráwak is identical with the interest of England, and this is the sole reason to influence Ministers to recognize Saráwak, the sole ground which induces Saráwak even to discuss such a subject; but, mark me, and let it be clearly understood—that no empty assurances, no half-and-half measures will be accepted or relied on. If the British Ministers regard it as a question of policy advantageous to their own country, there can be no doubt of a cordial good feeling arising, and the mouse being again bound to the lion; but the lion must be frank, so as to preclude future recurrences of *anomaly*, suspicion, and uncertainty. Honours I do not want or care for, and so they may as well keep them for men who value the coin. My wages must not be paid in shining pebbles or glittering tinfoil; nor, indeed, should private consideration be mixed up with a public policy."

This is repeated in other letters again and again, half playfully, but half in earnest.

"It is to be a public question, divested of all personal considerations. Honours or favours could only hamper me and delay the question. Mix it up with no details, but rest on the broad ground of national advantage, the duty of Ministers without reference to me. I am truly happy in my state, not 'the world forgetting, by the world forgot,' but peaceful in the possession of established and re-established reputation, willing to do right, but averse to publicity and popularity. I never will put my foot in England if I am to be bored—I won't go to Downing Street—I'll hang before I parade at the Mansion House! The truth is I have retired into my shell; it is strong, it fits snugly without being burdensome; and I have no conception of, and rather despise, the two-legged creatures who have not got shells to go into, and want to get me out of mine that they may get in."

It is evident that Mr. Templer set his face resolutely against this frame of mind, being earnestly desirous not only that justice should be done, but that whatever Saráwak might need of protection and support should come from England alone. This also was the wish of the Raja, but the spring

of hope was broken. "After the Commission I shall be dead to Parliament and to the world," had been his comment on Lord Clarendon's promise of future good, and in a sense the words were prophetic. In November of this year (1856) he wrote to Mr. Templer, with reference to a correspondence between the latter and the Government—"Do not publish the letters. At some future day they may be valuable. Insist upon it that I am dead. I lay for two years exposed to the public gaze, and was buried, with a Blue-book laid on my breast, in the holy ground of the Foreign Office. Why disturb my ashes? They repose softly in the shade, and are sensitive to the light or clamour of the upper world. Who is Bentley? Who the Longmans? In my present condition I remember none such. What correspondence do you allude to? It is not permitted to the happy and cheerful spirit to recall the passions of their pre-existent state. They must have been bad passions or I should be enabled to recall to memory the letters I wrote when in the world. I am the inhabitant of another sphere. Beware, or I will haunt Harrow with my horrid and hated *h*aspect!"

This is written from Singapore. Everything in October was prosperous in Saráwak. Mr. Crookshank had returned from England, bringing with him a young bride, and the Raja, not having been well, was glad to accept an offer from Sir William Hoste of a passage to Singapore in H.M.S. *Spartan*. A few days before starting a little incident occurred. "On Sunday last, we were nearly burnt out of house and home, but touch-and-go is a good pilot, and after some hard work performed by Sir William Hoste, Captain Drought, and myself, assisted by Bertha Crookshank, the flames in a servant's room near the mansion were subdued, not, however, till the walls, ceiling, and furniture of the room had been consumed. What a trial to lose my library—the Chancery suit would have been nothing to it!"

Bruné had all this year been going from bad to worse, and the Raja had come reluctantly to the conclusion that it would be kinder to the people to keep away; the time was passed for

half measures, and he would not appear to support a Government whose tyranny justified its subjects in their last resource —rebellion. Towards the close of the year, Mr. St. John, as Consul-General, took up his quarters there; but the foreign policy of England was simply non-intervention, and, although the presence of an accredited English Minister gave a feeling of safety to traders, in the Raja's view to attract trade where there was nothing to prevent the upper classes fattening on the forced labour of the lower, was but to increase existing evil.

In Saráwak Proper the chief event in home politics had been the return of Patingi Gaffur from his pilgrimage. He was a great man, and a council was called to consider his future. The Raja spoke first, and said that, for his part, he was willing to allow him to remain if his relatives would undertake to be responsible for his conduct; to which Mr. Charles Johnson, also present, agreed; but the native members, most of whom were the said relations, declined the responsibility, and it was decided that the Patingi should be requested to take up his abode in Penang or Malacca. He chose Malacca, and departed very quietly, with the promise of a small pension from his Government, and with a parting admonition from his relatives that if he came back again they would treat him as an enemy. It was all done very satisfactorily, and the Raja, after recounting the event, winds up with—

"We must some day or other turn law-givers to record briefly a code for British subjects, short, sweet, and comprehensive. They may marry, die, preach, pray, and give birth to children without restriction. What a mass of ecclesiastical humbug will be swept away! Offences against God, God will punish; it is the crime against man in society which shall be punished by law. The obligation of truth is of the most positive and highest sanctity; oaths are derogatory to the sacred character of truth, for they lead men to think that truth with an oath is more sacred than truth without an oath. Abolish oaths on this ground, but reserve the power of administering where the ignorance or credulity of witnesses renders it necessary, etc. A little bit of a book will do."

To this place belongs a correspondence with Mr. Chambers, the present Bishop of Labuan, on Reason and Conscience. It appears to have originated in a conversation. The Raja's portion, preserved by the Bishop, contains the following passages:—"The following is not controversy but reflection. What is it that distinguishes man from the brute? Reason. By reason we know God. By reason we discern between good and evil, virtue and vice, right and wrong; by reason we arrive at moral and every other knowledge. It is reason which renders us responsible beings, and the right use of reason constitutes the law of nature, or, more properly, the law of God expressed in our nature. Our moral nature is the law of God deduced by the right use of our reason. Our moral faculties I understand to be the faculties of the mind, *i.e.*, reason applied to moral subjects.

"It is correct, therefore, to say that there is a distinction between men and brutes in their moral perceptions, but the great difference is in reason. The passions which we share in common with animals by their inordinate strength disturb reason and destroy morals, and the struggle is common to heathens and Christians alike, and victory must (independently of supernatural aid) depend on the proportion which reason may bear relatively to passion. The perfection of reason must be the perfection of morals—the improvement of reason, the improvement of morals in this world; for we then know more distinctly the duties we have to perform, and acquire power to perform them as knowing that they tend to happiness. Religion, natural and revealed, enforces the duties of morality as deduced by reason, and revealed religion points to the exercise of mercy and pardon for sin through faith.

"This is my reflection; but for a common consent of mankind against murder, fraud, or falsehood, I know not of it. Ignorance, error, and passion have prevented such consent, but that there ought and will be this—— [Missing]

"*Penijau, September 4th.*—We reached safely this morning, and after breakfast I read your note. I employed the word 'reason' in the more extended and more usual sense, but

your examples, I think, apply to the more limited one. From cause we deduce effect; from creation we reason to a Creator; we compare good with evil, *i.e.*, we compare different actions and arrive at their consequences. As we feel distress, therefore we conclude that we ought not to inflict it on others. Acts of imprudence entail 'inward vexation,' nay, more, serious and evil consequences; therefore reason, by comparing and proportioning pleasure with pain, warns us to avoid such actions or follies, etc. You grant as 'a truism' that it is by the mind you discern good from evil. In this we are fully agreed, and we alike reject the theory of conscience, or moral perception, being an instinctive faculty by which right and wrong actions are unerringly decided, without mind and without trouble. You differ, however, from my view in regarding conscience as a mental principle, by which I conclude is intended a mental faculty. This I do not see; for if mind or reason is not a whole, by the operation of which we arrive at all conclusions of thought, we should have an endless number of principles: a mental principle of conscience, a mental principle of trigonometry, perhaps even a mental principle of good as distinct from a mental principle of evil. Surely the different subjects on which the mind is employed, the deductions and conclusions of reason on different subjects, do not constitute a distinct mental principle or faculty for each, as Spurzein maintained.

"Without going further into a most perplexing and endless inquiry, I should say that the mind or the reason deduces from circumstances a rule of duty. This rule may, of course, be deduced by others as well as ourselves, and is in every nation easily inculcated so as to give it a force similar to that of instinct, however diverse the rule itself may be; and the assent, whether by education, habit, prejudice, or reason, to this rule, constitutes the conscience of the individual, the rule of right and wrong by which he is guided. This solution will alone reconcile the different and contrary moral codes which have and which still exist, and this will explain the entire want of *conscience* in truly Christian men upon points of morality their

reason had not assented to, through ignorance or prejudice. Take for examination the great moral principle of toleration. Did not good men persecute and destroy their fellows for conscience' sake, as it was called? Was not this done through ignorance of duty? Were they now living, would not conscience reproach them for such a crime? This will suffice to show how our moral perceptions, *i.e.*, the rule applied by reason to moral actions, vary and improve as we deduce new rules of reason as a guide to conscience and as a restraint on action.

"I will not run on to greater length, but conclude by saying that you maintain on the one hand that the moral principle of the mind is the distinction between man and brute; whereas I, granting this to be a distinction, urge Reason, *i.e.*, mind, as the distinction, and I would rest the proof on this—that without mind there would be no morals, no distinction between right and wrong, and the distinction between man and the brute would cease to exist; whereas a man without morals, who acted without regard to right, who had no conscience, and who defied laws divine and human, would still, as a reasonable creature, be distinct from the brute. Destroy the reason of man, or reduce it, and you bring him on a level with the brute creation. Destroy morals as much as you will, as much as has been, or as much as can be conceived, and the distinction between man and the brute will exist so long as the former has reason.

"*Saráwak, September* 13*th*.—Do not think that I objected to the distinction you drew as at all unsuited to the occasion. I thought merely that you might (in common with many good men) hold conscience to be an instinctive faculty, *i.e.*, an instinct. Philosophers have written books enough to puzzle themselves, and to obscure this subject, but sifting it of superfluous distinctions and useless words, I may sum up my opinion as follows:—

"Reason is the main distinction between man and the brute—so says Lardner. By the exercise of this gift men have from the earliest times laid down certain rules which, being

deduced from right reason, command the assent of rational beings. This is the rule of right, but men by the same means have arrived at wrong conclusions from false reasoning, and such rules when proposed have been disputed, or rejected as not acceptable to right reason. This, I think, will account for the general assent of mankind to the great principles of morality, as well as for contradictory or doubtful propositions and practices; and this will account likewise for the ignorance of moral duties which has marked every period and every country.

"I regard morals, therefore, as a progressive science, which has been slowly established, and which may be improved by the right use of reason, by the light of civilization, and by the advance of knowledge; for it is clear, I think, that the discovery of the great principles of morality falls far short of such a rule of right as may be attained by the application of reason and knowledge to the details of conduct and of duty. For instance, what avails the knowledge of the great principle of truth if men differ as to what constitutes truth in detail; or the duty of universal benevolence if we be ignorant of the means? We may injure mankind by an ignorant application of means to benefit; we are morally bound to discover the means by which to carry out the principle.

"An instinctive or intuitive knowledge of right seems to me to entail as a consequence an unvarying standard; whereas the progressive development of morals, in its principles and details, besides instilling enlarged ideas of duty, inculcates caution and humility in the exercise of our reason on a subject which ought to guide our own actions, and may guide the actions of others.

"This accumulated rule of right or wrong as established in the country, is taught from infancy to every child. The mind receives these propositions long before it can reason on them; a firm conviction is impressed, and thence arises a sense of duty, a standard of action. The passions, or feelings, for they are nearly the same, are easily enlisted on the side of duty, and from the joint effects of reason and feeling

proceeds conscience. We are indignant, or angry, or vexed at a deviation in others from the rule we hold to be right; ashamed, humbled, or self-condemned by such a deviation on our own part.

"This seems to me to account for the phenomena; but, of course, what passion and feeling is we know not more than we know what is life, motion, or reason—we know them only from their effects."

At Singapore the Raja spent his time very quietly, refusing, as far as possible, all invitations, and coming out of his "shell" only to the few he called his friends. He found the place too near Saráwak for real rest, and though the heaviest anxieties were removed, yet his mind was oppressed by others. The great obstacle to the complete recognition of the independence of Saráwak was the fact of her ruler being a British subject. The legal opinions which Mr. Templer had been able to procure were unfavourable to the supposition that, under any circumstances, short, it is to be presumed, of naturalization, a British subject could become absolutely independent. The following letter, dated Singapore, October 23, 1856, is a comment on the last-received opinion.

"I do not consider the historical precedents adduced as being in point. The cases in America, Sir James Stephen allows to be 'of little or no value.' The Cape Boers, being British subjects, could not quit themselves of their allegiance by merely removing beyond British territory. The British adventurers in New Zealand desired to set up a sovereign authority over a British body politic whom they were attracting, and they abandoned the attempt when informed they were derogating from the *right of* the Crown—so the Crown had rights or claims. The East India Company as a chartered corporation derived its authority and exclusive privileges from the Crown, and here again a counter right was asserted. How, then, can these precedents apply to the case of a British subject chosen by the people to rule over them? There is no counter claim on the part of the Crown—there is no derived authority; but, on the contrary, full information,

acquiescence, and arrangement of jurisdiction to be exercised over the British subject resident within the country, and subjected to its government.

"I consider the mistake to lie in forgetting the right of every people to choose and to maintain its own form of government; and God knows we see wrong enough in the world in opposition to the right. I hold Saráwak by the right of the people—the best or the worst sovereign is but a trustee for this right; and though it may be doubted whether a sovereign can ever rightfully dispose of his people, without their consent, it is very certain that a people may dispossess their sovereign wherever the authority entrusted to him becomes negative for good, or positive for evil.

"Sovereignty, therefore, confers no right in itself over the people or country. Surely this is the modern historical view of the subject, and, though often confused by wrong and violence—by the iron heel of despotism—the right is clear that the one serves the many, and that a people make and unmake their sovereigns.

"In this view, having acquired no rights excepting such as are derived from the people, how can it be that sovereignty so derived can convey a right to a foreign State? The people who bestow may resume the sovereignty? Is not every sovereignty held by contract—tacit, but assured? Am I not as Raja bound to maintain the Mahomedan religion? Can I, contrary to the will of the people, abolish slavery, alter their laws, or encroach on their customs? Will the Crown of England assume an authority on these terms?

"I maintain, therefore, without hesitation, that if one principle be more clear than all others it is the right of a people to choose its own form of government, and should they elect a British subject to be their ruler, the *only* question that can arise is whether he can *legally* hold the position or not; but that the Crown of England should, with a knowledge of the circumstances, *permit this holding*, and afterwards, from motives of self-interest, claim through it an authority over a free people and a foreign country, is a construction

unknown in equity. The law has not laid down any rule decisive of the case—so writes Sir James Stephen—ergo, a British subject may hold the position of sovereign over a free people, and wherever the law shall determine the case in the negative, its effect will be to annul the position without conveying a right to the Crown.

"This right can be conveyed only by the consent of the people and by the due fulfilment of their laws, religion, and wishes. But why talk of right! There is no right in this world, and there never will be whilst mankind continues the savage and drunken brute he at present is! It is wrong and brute force, bequeathed by the violence and wrong of the 'good old times,' that have left their brands upon our laws, and their traces upon the minds of Britishers. Who *in right* would have dreamed of a law of allegiance binding the vile body, whilst the soul revolted? It is the law of the strong imposed on the weak—the law of the master over the serf or slave, whose head is bent to receive this monstrous vassalage of wrong by the whip, the law, the fashion, till the poor deluded devil hugs his chain and struts in his uncomfortable finery. Who does not see that none by right are free and equal—that the social compact is one of agreement and habit merely formed for convenience, and for convenience dissolved? Who does not see the folly of binding men's carcases with laws unknown to morals, and revolting their minds? This is the law of allegiance. Government may impose laws, but men may betray Government, and in the hour of need, when the true heart and the strong hand are needed to support the Crown, they will be found wanting—the bold will cast off their allegiance, and the timid will evade it.

"I am obliged to Sir James Stephen, but I must leave the theoretical, and come to the practical, part of the matter. I have got all I want, and now that the jurisdiction question has been arranged, I have no apprehension of my stability in Saráwak. Let them deny my position. Let the law declare it illegal. Let all the Whigs of Downing Street, and all the wigs of Westminster shake, it matters not—from sovereignty

to republic, from republic to minister of state, are easy gradations in our society. The hearts of the people are with me, and the powers of red tape will not prevail.

"I do not, however, dear Jack, quite understand what you are driving at. Honours I will not have; co-operation is impossible, because, in the first place, the policy of the British is exactly opposed to the policy of Saráwak, and secondly, because in acting together the Raja of Saráwak must be the master or the servant—either of which would be impossible.

"You want recognition? The British Government can only recognize me by absolving me from the allegiance which I treat as a mere mediæval nuisance. They would gain my heart by freeing my body, and they would render the devotion (instilled by education, and nurtured by love of country) towards the sovereign complete, which is galled by the chain of authority.

"Tell me, then, what you really seek from Ministers? We have already a sort of uncomfortable good understanding. You may give Lord Clarendon my blessing, and, in short, I will give him everything he wants, excepting my confidence; but the truth is, dear Jack, we are a bore to them and they are a bore to us, and unless the question can be put upon public grounds it had better not be put at all, for it pains me more than I can tell you to imagine even the receipt of honours or favours from the Crown, *i.e.*, the Ministry. I have rendered no service—the fools of economists wouldn't let me; we have quarrelled and we have made it up; and in my opinion the British Government should approach me. The mountain should come to Mahomed, but if it will not, there is no occasion for Mahomed to go to the mountain. I would not baulk you, however, if you be bent on a flirtation *not in my name;* but you should take care not to have honours offered which would be refused, for it would produce needless irritation.

"Rid me of my allegiance; then let a treaty be made between the countries. This is the only sound course of

policy; but to form fresh links of subserviency and anomaly would only bring, ten years hence, poor Brooke into the same trouble from which I have escaped.

"I suppose this is all very naughty. I am not slavish enough for British slaves. Hannah frowns!—the whole family joins in chorus, 'Britons ever, ever, ever shall be ——' but is it not true? And I'll ask Jemmy, Harvey, and Freddy a plain question—What would they do if the law of allegiance prevented their running in the green fields? Why, of course, they would break the law. However, there is an end of it. . . . Love to the dear boys, old and young—irreverently enough I meant Sir James [Gordon] at the [Greenwich] Hospital, and Jemmy at Harrow. Poor dear fellow, I feel for the pangs and pains he endures at leaving home. To be men, must we be battered and shattered whilst boys!"

Captain Brooke and Mr. Charles Grant were to leave England in the spring of 1857, each bringing his bride with him (Captain Brooke had married a sister of Mr. Grant); and the Raja interested himself in buying furniture, etc., for, as he wrote to Mr. Charles Johnson, "we must titivate up our old-fashioned houses and ways for the new-married folk."

The recognition of the Saráwak Courts by the British Government had been followed by the complete formation of the Borneo Company. The late Mr. Robert Henderson, who appears to have been chief founder, was on the Direction, as was also Mr. J. C. Templer. Early in December, 1856, the Company's first steamer, the *Sir James Brooke*, touched at Singapore on her way out, and in the *K.C.B.*, as the Raja sometimes called her, he went back to Saráwak.

Here is a letter, written shortly after his return, to his old friend Dr. Edward Rigby, whom he addresses as Sudára, the Malay for "brother."

"*Saráwak, February* 13, 1857.—My dear Sudára,—I send you a few lines merely to say that we get on prosperously and quietly, and that I am looking forward to the arrival of *my children*—a large and growing family forsooth, but not too large for the india-rubber capacities of my heart, as the more

we separate from the big world, the more we prize the world of our affections.

"The Borneo Company gets on well, and its profits during the first year were quite unlooked for on my part. The directors are evidently men of sense and character, and if they fall into mistakes, evince this by correcting them. They have had, and will have still, much not only to do but to undo, to learn and to unlearn, and it is only by degrees that men's minds will be extended from the commercial and money to the political views of the subject. However, I will not bother you on this topic, as you can always become acquainted with my opinions in detail from the perusal of the letters I write to Templer.

"Dear Sudára, brother school-fellow, you congratulate me on the termination of my Chancery suit. I was obstinate as the most obstinate of animals, be it ass or be it pig: and I would have ground my heart to dust rather than have abated a jot to wrong and injustice. But I am a reasonable beast after all, ready to forgive, as Saráwak men always are, and I would not lower this grand characteristic of our nationality in my person; so, having battled fiercely in a good cause, and having, with a small and compact body of friends (each a knight and a gentleman, and a man of the best part of noble blood), driven through and through the infidel host of adversaries, scattering their vile carcases and calumnies to the four winds of heaven—I pause and breathe a prayer on them, forgiving as I hope to be forgiven, and thankful that I am clear of the world's strife.

"I am coming to England to enjoy quiet, and shall only just stay as long as I can obtain it. I want change. I am often ailing. Bodily derangement brings on mental depression, and mental depression causes bodily derangement, as the case may be. Life is often a burden in these dark days and weeks; but on the whole I do not complain. I am cheerful and well, but not strong. I want to drink waters and renovate. My kind regards to all our boys—Bacon, Longe, Bennett, etc., etc.,—and believe me, dear Sudára, your sincere friend—J. Brooke."

CHAPTER XXVI.

1857.

HITHERTO, whatever troubles might afflict Borneo, or personally oppress Sir James Brooke, Saráwak Proper had enjoyed safety, and to a certain extent freedom from anxiety; but in 1857 came an unexpected reverse. A Chinese Kunsi of gold workers, of which many members, when flying from Sambas, had received protection, food, and clothing at Kuching, suddenly rose in insurrection, surprised the town on the night of February 18th, and spread dismay throughout the country.

Writing a few months later to Sir Henry Keppel, the Raja says—

"It was the madness, the stark staring folly of the attempt which caused it to succeed. With mankind in general we may trust to their not doing anything utterly opposed to reason; but this rule does not hold good with the Chinese."

In October, 1856, our troubles with China had begun at Canton, when Commissioner Yeh, defying Sir John Bowring and Admiral Seymour, publicly offered a reward of thirty dollars for each English head. Tales of his mighty doings circulated far and wide among the network of Chinese spread over the Archipelago. In Singapore there was an outbreak in January, 1857, a precursor of the more serious one in Saráwak, where the belief in the displeasure of the English Government with Sir James Brooke gave an additional force to the audacious spirit roused by the rumours of the time.

But in the whole country there were not above four thousand Chinamen, and these were scattered. During the Raja's absence, a feeling of uneasiness prevailing at Kuching, Mr. A. C. Crookshank had had the small forts garrisoned. Letters from Sir James Brooke to Mr. C. Johnson, dated Dec. 29th, 1856, and Jan. 1st and 18th, 1857, written after his return from Singapore, show that his habitual distrust of the Chinese Kunsis, as distinct from individual traders, was aroused.

In the earliest letter his words are—"You were quite right to order the infliction of a fine. . . . Get rid of them all as soon as you can. I want no other Kunsi in this country, and it is their object to establish one by degrees. Be kind to them, but firm on this point."

"*January* 18*th*.—You are quite right, dear Charley, to speak plainly, and you can never be amiss with me, though we may differ sometimes in opinion—not, however, in the present case, for I grant you a large discretion in all affairs, knowing how well you will use it. You must, however, be very careful. The Chinese settled are not to be increased in any number till the government over them has been firmly established. . . . I could not break faith with them and make you my instrument in so doing; but, *remember*, the Chinese must be closely watched."

The danger, however, lay nearer Saráwak than the Batang Lupar. The offending Kunsi had long been suspected of carrying on a system of opium-smuggling, and proof of the fact being at length forthcoming, they were fined. There was some anxiety in the Raja's mind as to whether they would resist this fine, and he writes of being relieved by their not only paying it, but showing "satisfactory demonstration of funk." This was in the middle of January; a month later they took their revenge.

Before the news of the rising reached England, Captain and Mrs. Brooke, with Mr. and Mrs. C. Grant, were on their way out. At Galle they found Mrs. Nicholetts waiting to accompany them to Saráwak, where she hoped to remain

during her husband's absence in the Persian War. At Galle, also awaiting them, was a letter dated February 29th, from the Raja :—

"My dear Brooke,—You will hear with firmness the disastrous intelligence I have to communicate, and gently convey it to your dear wife and Matilda [Mrs. Grant]. On the night of the 18th instant Saráwak [town] was treacherously surprised by the Kunsi from Bauh, who took the so-called forts and burnt us out of house and home. Harry Nicholetts was murdered in my house;* Arthur (Crookshank) and his dear wife both wounded—she badly; Middleton's two children and Mr. Wellington, just arrived, likewise murdered. The destruction has been great indeed, and we are temporarily ruined, but the opportune arrival of the steamer *Sir James Brooke* has helped us. The fidelity of Malays and Dyaks is exemplary. They are rallying round us. The Bandar has gained some advantages by capturing nine sampans and retaking in them guns, powder, etc. The Chinese have likewise lost many men, and our people are all wild to beat them. I will not say more. We have much to suffer before we can re-establish our revenue, but our hearts are stout, and every one is behaving admirably. Believe me, my dear children, I will never flinch from the post, and am hopeful of retrieving matters. I have applied both to the Dutch and English for assistance, but without pledging myself to any particular course. Charley is here—well. Be brave of heart; leave the dear wives in Singapore—it will be imperatively necessary: but come over, and if you bring me a few clothes I will thank you, for I am in native costume, borrowed here and there. I have not saved a thing, but some of our silver spoons and forks have been recovered. Our Government servants must depart or share our misfortunes; they will all choose the latter. The spirit abroad is what it should be. My love to you all. You may judge how difficult it is to write. Ever in fortune or misfortune, your affectionate friend and father—J. Brooke."

* A small bungalow close to the house in which the Raja slept.—A. C. Crookshank.

The Mr. Nicholetts mentioned here, brother to Major Gilbert Nicholetts, had joined the Raja's service in 1856. In February, 1857, he came on a short visit from Lundu to Kuching, where he shared a bungalow of the Raja's with a brother officer, Mr. Steele, who succeeded in making his escape. Middleton was an old follower of the Raja, to whose fortunes he had clung for many years. Mr. Wellington, a young clerk in the Borneo Company's employ, was killed in a brave attempt to defend Mrs. Middleton and her children. She concealed herself in a large jar and escaped, but her two little ones perished. Mrs. Crookshank, after lying wounded for some hours, was rescued by Bishop McDougall.

The Chinese on their first attack not only spared the church, mission buildings, and Borneo Company's offices, but sent to the Bishop to say that they meant no harm to the missionaries, and to ask him to come and attend to their wounded, which he did. Mr. Helms and Mr. Ruppell were also unmolested, an impression pervading the minds of the rebels that to interfere with traders might provoke retaliation from the British Government, but that with Sir James Brooke and his officers they might do as they chose.

Of his own escape the Raja says nothing to his nephew, and in a long letter by the same mail, the first after the attack, to Mr. Templer, it is only referred to as having been "miraculous," but he speaks of his feeling of great thankfulness that Captain Brooke and Mr. Grant—"his children," as he loved to call both—"did not sustain the horrors of that night, or meet the fate which would in all probability have been theirs. The ruin," he continues, "is complete, but there is a bright spot amid the gloom in the devotion of the natives; their sympathy, their kindness, their entire willingness to do what they can, are all balm to a wounded spirit. . . . We have lost everything but the hearts of the people, and that is much to retain."

He also dwells on the prospect of aid from without. Will the Dutch help? Will the English Government stand by and see the "cause of humanity, native government and

commerce, destroyed? One gun-boat and five companies of military would crush the murderers—a frigate would do it! And if they will not afford aid, will they not give some protection to the coast to prevent the Dyaks of Sarebus breaking loose whilst our hands are tied? I have often," he continues, "pointed out to you the weakness consequent on our poverty, and experience has led me to doubt the support which should be afforded from without to the cause of humanity, but still I hope—nay, will strive—for success. That this gang of miscreants can succeed is next to impossible, but the question of time is of every consequence, and a quick destruction overtaking them would restore that confidence which procrastination will more and more destroy.

"My heart is lighter after writing, but very, very heavy still. Break his son's death to Mr. Nicholetts."

The details of the Raja's own escape are given in a letter to Mrs. Johnson, written in April; and they have also been furnished by his steward, Charles Penty, the only person in the house with him at the time. Mr. Penty writes:—

"I was sleeping in a room near the Raja, who had not been well for some days. The attack took place about midnight, with fearful yelling and firing. I hurried out of my bed, and met the Raja in the passage in the dark, who at the moment took me for one of the rebels, grappled me by the throat, and was about to shoot me when he fortunately discovered it was me. The Raja was fond of telling this story. We then opened the Venetian window of my room and saw poor Mr. Nicholetts murdered before our eyes. The Raja said, 'Ah, Penty, it will be our turn next!'

"Then we went to another part of the house, where the crowd of rebels was even thicker. The Raja seemed determined to fight. While he was loading a double-barrel for my use, our light went out, and we had to do without. The Raja then led the way to his bath-room, under his bedroom, and rushed out of the door. The rebels having gathered round poor Mr. Nicholetts' body, left the way pretty clear, and the Raja, with his sword and revolver in hand, made his

way to a small creek and swam under the bow of the boat that had brought the rebels. Being unable to swim, I ran up the plantation and rushed into the jungle. The Raja's beautiful house was blazing from end to end, and the light reflected for a great distance. Mr. Crookshank's and Mr. Middleton's houses were also burning. At daybreak I heard Malay voices; they, like myself, were running away from the town, which was in the hands of the rebels. They kindly clothed me and took me to the Raja."

[Diving under a Chinese boat, Sir James Brooke had swum to the other side of the creek, and, after lying for some time utterly exhausted on the muddy bank, recovered sufficient strength to reach the house of a Malay chief, where Mr. Crookshank and Middleton joined him.]

Penty continues :—

"The Raja seeing there was no chance of recapturing the town, and that we could not defend ourselves where we were, we came by water up a small creek. It was here where he said, 'Yesterday I was a king, and to-day a beggar. I grieve not for myself, but for you, my faithful followers, who have lost your all.' We were kindly received by Abang Boyang, the head man of a village, where we remained for two or three days. The Chinese offered large rewards for the Raja, dead or alive. Hearing that they had left the town and forts, taking away the ammunition and muskets, the Raja resolved to return, but on our arrival the Chinese had also come back, and were ready with our good muskets to receive us, while we had only flint muskets. They fired, and we narrowly escaped being shot. The Raja was advised to hide, which he refused to do, saying he would rather be shot.

"We were then rowed out to sea, when a steamer, which turned out to be the *Sir James Brooke*, appeared, and we were all taken on board. She was well supplied with guns, etc., and the sight of her so frightened the rebels that they made no resistance, but ran in all directions. The Raja shot off a bundle from one of the rebels' backs, and he did not wait to pick it up again. By this time the news of the insurrection had

spread, and the Malays and Dyaks from the interior came, who all loved the Raja. I beg to add that the insurrection was not in any way on account of the Raja's high or hard ruling, as a better and kinder friend to all never lived."

In a letter to his sister Mrs. Johnson, the Raja says :—

"A dead Chinaman is no more to be apprehended than a dead dog, and we have taught the living miscreants such a lesson that they will not play their tricks upon us for many a long year. For the future we will take such precautions in ruling them as to deprive them of the means of doing mischief. Worldly goods, you know, I care not for. I have suffered so much before, that this misfortune appears light; and, so that the few whom I love are spared to me, I care not. Through my affections I could be deeply wounded; but the possession of money, pictures, books, etc., is but of small account. Had I valued these things, had I desired ease, sought fame as a primary object, or lived for society, I should not have exiled myself to this country. I have a duty to perform from which I may not shrink; and I have long known, with an aching but steadfast heart, that this duty entails trials and struggles even to the end. What, then, is the yelling of a few score of Chinese for my life? I told Penty that our death was at hand. I was wound up to the resolve that knows no shrinking, and had we been surrounded I would have given them cold steel and hot shot whilst life lasted, and so have been killed with courage tingling to my fingers' ends, and despair lending me strength; but it was not so to be, and I had quite enough of common sense and lack of heroism to make my escape when opportunity offered.

"Poor Harry Nicholetts! I mourn for his fate. I was fond of him, for he was a gentle and amiable lad, promising well for the future. Suddenly awakened, he tried to make his way to the large house, and was killed in the attempt. His sword lay beside him next morning when he was found. Poor, poor fellow! these are things to grieve the mind—the mother who lost her children, murdered before her eyes; the sweet and beautiful and tender woman wounded and left

bleeding—these are *horrors*; but my lot has been light. How much have we to be thankful for! A treachery so certain to meet with a just retribution as to be in human calculation impossible from its very absurdity, has called forth the fidelity and attachment of the people, who everywhere took up arms in support of the Government. I wish I could tell you, over next winter's fireside, half the proofs of solicitude and of delicate and tender attention I met with when a fugitive and a beggar. If fortune favour it may be so yet, before very long, but not so soon as I had proposed, for our revenue has met with a heavy decrease, and economy is the order of the day. Our financial difficulty will be temporary, our Government based more securely, confidence will be restored, the events of February fade from our minds, and become a tale to be told to wondering youth. There is much to be done, something to endure, perhaps suffering in store, but we must not shrink from duty, and God will be with us in our struggles, and moderate our desires in returning prosperity. Think of this, my sister, for woman never had higher courage than you have, and there is no danger in Saráwak now which is not to be found in every country. Brooke, Annie, Charley Grant, and Matilda will be in Singapore in a few days, and I have left to them * to decide whether they will bring their wives over or not. At any rate, the gentlemen must come to superintend the building of our new house, and I dare say the wives will not stay behind; and they will be right, for separation will be a worse evil than a little roughing. They must dispense with the elegancies and luxuries of life for a season, and I know they will do so without a thought hankering after these things. Else, why here?—why in this sphere of duty and devotion? Charley has returned to his government. I lean upon him, and love him."

The news of the outbreak had spread rapidly through the country, and reached the Sea Dyaks of Sakarran. Mr. Charles Johnson was at the time suffering from fever; and, after a

* In a letter subsequent to the one quoted.

worse attack than usual, had fallen asleep, when one of his natives awoke him with, "Tuan, the news is sorrowful. The Raja is killed, and all the Europeans driven from the capital!" Hardly comprehending the words, he lay for a few minutes half-stupefied; then, rousing himself, ordered his boat, while he questioned the bearer of such strange tidings.

There was no need to give directions; the Dyaks hurried up from all quarters, some vowing vengeance, others, though seeming appalled at the suddenness of the calamity, arming with a grim determination expressed on their faces. When a boat's crew had assembled, Mr. Johnson inquired if they would choose their leader; the only thing that signified was that one must be chief, and the rest promise to obey. Finding that they wished him to take the command he did so, and, leaving reinforcements to follow as quickly as possible, rowed down the river, the thought of their great chief's death weighing down every spirit, until meeting a boat conveying the Bishop and others to Linga, they learned that the Raja was alive and unhurt. Nothing mattered after that—the righting of the Government would merely be a work of time, and the old sea warriors were only too happy to get some lawful fighting to do. When the steamer appeared the Raja had been on his way to Sakarran, for the less warlike people of Saráwak were temporarily scared at the suddenness of the blow, and it was to the Sakarrans he had chastised that Sir James Brooke turned in his hour of need, and did not turn in vain.

Time alone was wanted, and then the whole country rose and inflicted a terrible vengeance, not only on the gold-working Kunsi, but on the whole body of Chinese, who fled rapidly to Sambas, pursued and harassed on all sides by the infuriated natives.

Looking back on it all in October, the Raja wrote to Colonel Le Grand Jacob—

"The treachery was sudden, but the retribution complete, and I do not think the Chinese will forget the lesson for many a long day. With twenty-four hours' delay on their part, not a living soul would have escaped death or capture; but better

as it was, and the punishment was so complete that we were spared the dirty work of judicial execution, only seven having been put to death after trial. The process was vastly disagreeable, but, being over, it is gratifying to have tested my work before I go hence. The Government was proved to be rightly based, the fidelity of the people tried by misfortune, and our resources and revenue demonstrated to be elastic. We are now in every respect better off than before the outbreak, and it is an incalculable advantage to have got rid, root and branch, of a body of Chinese who were located and possessed of a semi-political organization before I came into the country. So great and prosperous are we, that I go to England by the packet of November 20th from Singapore. I leave the Government with perfect confidence under charge of my nephew, and my absence is the best means of establishing his authority.

"My first object at home will be to buy a steamer to guard our coasts, and something may be done relative to our political position. I shall neither seek nor shun Ministers, nor will I allow private feelings to interfere with the public good. I want to act rightly, but it is difficult to do so when one is misconstrued and repelled by official reserve. However, come what may, I shall struggle on to the end, whatever that end may be; but I am confident, and with moderate success can preserve Saráwak's independence. If, however, England slumbers, our misfortunes must throw us into foreign alliance, if not dependence."

In April Mrs. Nicholetts had arrived, with Captain and Mrs. Brooke, and Mr. Grant, whose wife followed later. Burned houses were quickly rebuilt, and before long almost the only symptom of past fears was a tendency to panic, somewhat provoking to those who did not share the weakness. Of the treasures destroyed in the Raja's house, the loss he most felt was his library, every volume of which was burned, and the collection of which was the only luxury he had allowed himself. Of honourable badges one alone was recovered—the medal of the Geographical Society; his name and the in-

scription were defaced, but it could be recognized, and his first thought was to send it to Mr. Templer. "I present it to you, dear Jack," he writes, "as the only thing in the world I have yet to give away. You can make it into an heir-loom."

His health, always uncertain, now became more so, and he only occasionally felt able to throw off a burden of anxiety. He writes of being "weary of the world, weary of evil, weary of weakness." A cry for rest was first wrung out of him during the Inquiry at Singapore, and after that it is never long absent from his letters. It is impossible to say what the year 1853 and the following year took from his life.

The effect on his mind of the Chinese rising was the deepening of a previous conviction that no help to his cause would come from the English Government. His application for assistance had been followed by the arrival of Sir William Hoste in H.M.S. *Spartan*, offering protection to British subjects and their property; but the Government of Saráwak might go to utter wreck, or recover, as should please the Fates; and English hands that would have acted now as gladly as in the never-forgotten days of the *Dido*, were bound by the chains of an indiscriminating non-intervention policy.

The Dutch, on the other hand, were most friendly—offered soldiers, returned the arms taken by them from Chinese escaping from Saráwak into their territory; and, in answer to a representation of the Balanini being on the coast, the Raja writes (August 20)—"The Resident of Pontiana assures me that he will apply to the Governor-General for a steamer, and he doubts not but that it will afford the same satisfaction to his superiors as to himself to aid in any way to catch these rascals. Such is the tenor of his notes. Much good will result to either country from the removal of distrust and a joint action to attain the objects common to them. So far so good. Amity with Holland implies no enmity to England. My own feelings and the interests of Saráwak alike lead me to desire an English alliance, but without breach with our neighbours who have served us. The Government at home, however, must move or must decide one way or the other, for

Saráwak cannot be kept in a state of suspense. Life is no negation here, whatever it may be in Downing Street, and events progress, good is destroyed, evil revives, before Ministers awake."

This is the burden of his correspondence now.

When the news of the insurrection reached England the various notices of the press showed that the old enthusiasm was not yet dead. The *Times* published a long account given in a letter from the Raja to Mr. Templer, and in a leader, when commenting on the Chinese idea that they might injure the Raja with impunity, observed—"The conspirators did not know all. Had they had the opportunity of reading recent debates in the British Parliament, their more subtle spirits might have received further encouragement from the belief that we were not only an ultra-peaceful, but an ultra-punctilious people, and that the cutting of Raja Brooke's throat and the burning of the town, might be considered matters beyond our cognizance until the precise colonial status of Saráwak was determined, and whether a Kunsi Chinese was under the jurisdiction of any British court."

The *Daily News*, remarking on the way the natives had avenged the wrong, concluded its article with—"Having in the earlier part of Sir James Brooke's career felt it our duty to express our dissent from, and disapproval of, certain parts of his policy, we have sincere pleasure in proclaiming our unreserved admiration of the manner in which he must have exercised his power to have produced such fruits."

Every word that could cheer him was passed on by friends, and a subscription was started, headed by the Borneo Company with a thousand pounds, "in gratitude for his escape, in sympathy for his losses, and, above all, to mark the sense of the services he had rendered the cause of civilization and humanity;" while members of his old school subscribed together and sent out to Saráwak a goodly number of books, to which Cambridge University also contributed.

A letter of August 19th, to Mr. Templer, shows how the Raja took these proofs of sympathy; but he could hardly then

have known of the Norwich testimonial, for the address that accompanied it bears date October.

"The public plaudits I rate at their true value, but the substantial kindness of my friends, which shall increase the means of government, I could not refuse from any false pride. There are more than half a million of people to serve, and my own feelings should not interfere with their welfare. I thank you therefore for the attempt to minister to our resources, and I am grateful to my friends, but—

'The heart that once beat high for praise,
Now feels that pulse no more.'

I shrink from public life in all its forms, and personal or private communication with Ministers would give me pain and answer no good purpose.

"On the political portion of your intelligence, I will remark that it is unlikely Ministers should make an advance, and on personal grounds there is nothing to be done. I desire nothing. I am sure you will ask nothing. I would refuse honours if I could do so without offence; for the question is not, ought not to be, personal to myself. Let it stand fairly on the basis of national policy, and if there be not reason to advocate the course I have advocated let it be rejected. Let us only know what we are about and what we may look for in future. It is true, as Lord Grey says, that I was perfectly satisfied with the arrangement which in 1856 separated Saráwak from England. It prevented an unequal contest of right against might; but, as a sequel, I want the decision whether that separation should be final or not. I am astonished at my own patience and politeness in submitting so long to this miserable negation. I will take care of the independence of Saráwak. The British Government is not the British lion, and the British lion is usually tame and sleepy, with a lion's forbearance when he is gorged; but in politics we must run some risk to attain any good, and we are often reduced to choose the lesser of two evils. I would choose England in preference to Holland, because I am an Englishman; but I prefer Holland to total isolation, and the dangers of continuing unacknowledged as a

State; but in taking the best line of policy according to my judgment I do not intend to sacrifice the independence of Saráwak, or to give her any form of government unsuited to the people. We want alliance, and such a degree of support as will assure us against aggression and injustice, and the perils not to be foreseen but which are incident to weak governments. We are too weak now for confidence. If we get the means of purchasing a steamer we may go on independently, and without alliance; but a steamer we must have shortly, and we must approximate to one or the other governments possessing power in the Archipelago.

"During my lifetime the position of Saráwak must be settled, so as to leave my successor freed from the dangers of succession in an Eastern State. Let us kiss or fight it out, my dear Jack, with Government; for trust me that acquiescence only begets neglect, and you will wait your lifetime."

"Say not, dear Jack, that the fault is mine," runs an earlier letter, "if the poor errant comet be absorbed in the greater mass of its neighbour planet. What the world says I care not. I am an outcast beyond its respectabilities. Not that I intend absorption; but, alas, our intentions are but weak in the conflict of circumstances, and what I would not do to-day I might be glad to do to-morrow!"

Expressions such as these are mingled with others that show how terrible was the mental struggle. When the news of the Indian Mutiny reached Saráwak, he "turned clammy with agitation, for imagination conjured up a general revolt of the army conjointly with a rising of the Mahomedan population. I felt then," he continues (July 4), "wronged and disgraced though I have been, that I was an *Englishman*, and that the ties and feelings which men have wantonly outraged are planted too deep to be torn up. The details have allayed my apprehensions, but such an event is serious in any shape, for it proves that we have no longer the affection of our soldiery.

"What fine and faithful fellows they were in days gone by! And what grievous errors and offences on our part must have

gradually undermined their adherence! Oh, wretched, wretched system—that has converted a native soldiery into a European army; which, by generalization, has destroyed the interest of the officers in their men, and alienated the men from their officers; which has sundered the bond of sympathy between them, and prominently brought to light that they were of different races, colours, and feelings! And this gulf has been widening for years, whilst the machinery of general orders, and general courts-martial, and a general drill, which is repugnant to the native mind, has been outwardly working smoothly.

"These are no new opinions of mine. Sympathy between the officers and men, mutual dependence, the means afforded to the officer to assist in trifling matters, were the essence of the native army in years gone by, the secret which attached the men. And to prove this, you will now discover that the irregular and local corps are the most faithful in the service: their hearts are in the work; they are attached to their officers, known to them by name; the types of the old *régime*, under which, if the native troops were not so fine, they were more faithful, with a child-like dependence on the one side, and sympathy and the means to assist on the other. The panacea seems to be a larger proportion of officers to the men; but what can be the use of increasing officers whom the men do not care for? Three good officers to a corps under the old system, would be better than three hundred under the new. I could write ever so much on this subject, but am weary."

Sarebus had been for some time, as we have seen, in a state of turmoil, the party of order now getting the upper hand, and then being overborne by the disorderly, who could always reckon on support from Rentap, not yet finally subdued, and from needy and greedy adventurers from Brunė. It was eight years since a steamer had been seen in the river, and Raja Brooke had had no man to spare to do for Sarebus what his nephew Charles had done for Sakarran. This letter of July

4th, contains a groan for the right sort of rulers, not men who would simply keep matters quiet, though that would be much to do, but men who could *govern*.

"To govern here it requires a gentleman, and your gentleman must be a man of refinement, of a sympathizing nature, of judgment, and quick perception. Greek and Latin are no more use to him than to the hound that hunts the fox. Could there not be found tests of judgment and kindliness? Are these qualities beyond the perception of mankind? Must the affairs of the world be carried on by Greek lexicon and Latin grammar, I wonder!"

In April Mr. C. Johnson had asked sanction for another attempt to dislodge Rentap, again entrenched on Sadok Mountain, and the Raja wrote in reply—

"My Dear Charley,—It is your duty to go, and my duty, therefore, to permit you. Go, therefore, and God be with you! I need not inculcate caution, for you know that, important as the success would be, a defeat would nearly ruin us. Risk as little as you can, and, above all, keep Linga and Sakarran forts well manned in your rear. Be careful; reconnoitre the place thoroughly. I shall be anxious as the time approaches, but what of that in a life of anxiety, and with an anxious temper?"

In June he went himself to Sarebus and persuaded the whole Malay population to remove to the mouth of the river, thereby snapping many chains of intrigue with the interior; and afterwards went up as far as Paddi, to a great gathering of all the well-affected Dyaks, to whom he held out "the right hand of diplomacy, while," he writes, "Charley resorted to sterner measures round Sadok Mountain. Brooke at the same time went to the Rejang. We received alarming reports of conspiracy from Mr. Steele (from Kanowit), which almost shook my previous arrangements when on the point of being carried out; but, fortunately, while we lay-to for a night, Steele and McKintosh made their appearance with the contingent from their rivers and assured us that the reports were greatly exaggerated. A Dyak conspiracy to surprise the

fort there had been, but as this has occurred a dozen times before, it would have passed as a matter of course had not Steele been alarmed into believing that Sheriff Messahore was engaged in the plot.

"This, as far as we could find out, was not the case; but beyond a doubt Sheriff Messahore and many another rascal of high rank would have rushed in to share the spoil had Saráwak rule been overthrown: and our people, enriched by years of security, would have borne squeezing, much to the satisfaction of their oppressors. That there are many men of high rank, with their followers; many who have abused power whilst they had it; many who would rather rob than work—that would rejoice over our downfall, cannot be doubted. But I have a firm reliance on the great principle that nine-tenths of a population will support a Government suited to their ideas and habits, which affords security and maintains peace. The majority here, as elsewhere, are negatives—lukewarm, quiet, dull, and selfish men; but this class inclines to order, and more readily falls into its ranks than joins the disorderly multitude bent on mischief alone—the *radical reformers*, under whom there is no quiet."

On the return from this business—in which all prospered—Kuching was found to have been disturbed by evil rumours, which, though false, kept up a feeling of uneasiness that only gradually died away. Another letter opens a pleasant view.

"Our home circle is charming. Brooke, Annie, and Mary inhabit the new mansion, which is nothing very grand, but as clean and comfortable as leaves can make it, and, though scantily furnished, boasts of a brilliant piano belonging to Charley Grant. Charley Johnson and myself are in Ruppell's cottage, about twenty paces from the 'Refuge' (so is the new house called), and here our whole party dine and breakfast. Charley Grant and Hay have their quarters over the Court House and live with us. The piano sounds, the voices mingle in some pleasant song, the violin accompaniment reaches my ear from time to time, and there is merry laughter and sweet chatter in the pauses of the music. Mary accompanies her

brother to Sakarran on Wednesday, and then Arthur and Bertha pass a time with us."

These precious intervals of repose, when the Raja could lay down the burden of his cares, and be the loving gentle companion and playmate, ready for any harmless nonsense and merriment that the most boylike of the company might suggest, passed only too quickly. In bygone years he had been able to speak of opposition and difficulties as wave succeeding wave, which he was proud to ride triumphant over; the waves were still before him, and should still be ridden over, but the haven in sight had proved a mirage, and the glad sense of triumph gone.

A letter dated, July 18, 1857, to Sir Henry Keppel, speaks for itself—

"I wish we had your aid, or any other, for I am not particular, to check the increasing yearly depredations of the Lanuns and Balanini on this coast. Is it not sad to think that piracy, after being thoroughly eradicated for eight years, should from sheer neglect be permitted to spring up again, from the want of a single occasional steamer to frighten the pirates? I have written to the Resident of Pontiana, offering, if they will send a steamer on the coast about April next, to co-operate with fast prahus, and, by lying in wait at proper places, and having the natives on the *qui vive* to give intelligence of their approach, we should catch the rascals, and if some escaped give them a tale to carry home to their wives and families. This year they have carried away not much fewer than two hundred persons from the coast and islands; and the worst is that in our prahus it is nearly impossible to do any good, for we wear our people to death watching and waiting, and with very doubtful results if we meet, for their prahus are fully as fast or faster than our own, and the chances are they would escape from a superior force.

"However, somehow or other, the thing must be done."

This was one trouble; the condition of Muka, Oya, and other poor dependencies of Bruné another; the uncertainty of the future of Saráwak a third, and the one that touched him

most deeply. It is necessary to show fully his mind on this point, and it is given with great clearness in a letter to Mr. Templer, dated August 1, 1857—

"I am going to write a quiet letter in the interval of communication with the outer world; there are four mails awaiting transmission, and we are in a state of uncertainty about the arrival of a vessel, it may be to-morrow, or it may bé a month hence."

Then comes an account of the Muka disturbances and of intrigues between Bruné and Sambas, with a story set about, he thought by Makota, that was being retailed, "that when the Queen of England was going to kill me I humbled myself before the Sultan to solicit his interference and was thus saved. I attach," he continues, "no great importance to this intrigue, but it is in consequence of our isolated position, and it demonstrates the effects of the Commission, and the necessity of caution.

"The report I mentioned of the defeat of the Kayans by the Borneons was false, the truth being that the Kayans came in force into the Bruné territory, where they lodged for some forty days, pending a tedious negotiation, at the end of which, Pangeran Makota having reported in Bruné that everything had been satisfactorily arranged, they (the Kayans) immediately carried out their intention by attacking and slaughtering a tribe of Bruné Muruts. Makota gave this tribe, as he has given many others, to be destroyed; but whether for money or from fear is doubtful.

"What an iniquity of misgovernment, or infamy of weakness, does this reveal! It is the same hateful practice which I suppressed on the coast, and my heart burns to hear of such doings; but, alas! I am powerless for good, and must remember that the Government which sanctions or submits to such atrocities, is the ally and the friend of Great Britain.

"What fools men are to talk of *the right* of a Sovereign or of a State to do wrong!—to murder the innocent and defenceless! Why, it is the right of every honest man who crawls the earth's surface, to punish crime; and for-

bearance is only to be justified when the attempt to cure may aggravate evil. What hateful expediencies men arrive at in a civilized state, as if wrong is not everywhere to be combated, and right everywhere to be maintained, wherever consistent with a generous prudence! I am not going to scold, however, and so will stay my pen.

"*August 2nd.*—Indignation evaporated, and I proceed. The political position of our Government need not be detailed. Our greatest danger is from the failure of our resources, or from their inadequacy to sustain the progress which to us is a *necessity*. Progression or retrogression it must be. There is no middle course, and if we do not advance we go back. Our finances, it is true, have recovered far beyond my expectations, whilst there is every prospect of future improvement. But, withal, there is something to suffer, everything to renew, *prestige* to regain, and reduced pecuniary means. We are not in a situation to meet a political exigency without borrowing. The past has convinced me that we have no credit, whilst our late disaster, coupled with our isolation, may encourage our enemies to action. There is nothing absolutely to dishearten or discourage, but much to do and to guard against. The prospect of improvement, the fidelity of the population, the satisfactory aspect of our internal affairs, and the energy with which the insurrection was quelled, are in our favour; but, hoping the best, I must say that a Government such as ours (reformatory and progressive both in principle and practice), without means and without credit, is in no pleasant predicament, though far better off than, under the circumstances, could have been anticipated. The supineness of the English encourages the Dutch to action. During the coming season we shall be probably acting together for the repression of piracy, and an obligation has been conferred on Saráwak which must not be forgotten. Thus the influence of the English is superseded, and the confidence in them transferred to another nation. The seas where Cochrane and Keppel held undivided sway, will be swept by the reigning "Tromp" of the East; and better the aid

of any flag than a renewal of piracy with all its evils. Saráwak is a mere cipher in the question. The shadow of coming events is cast broadly before us. Neglect and injustice on the one hand, respect and help on the other, can leave no doubt that Saráwak must become closely allied with Holland, and, by leaning upon her for support, merge in due season into her dependency.

"I would, if I could, avert this consummation, for it is the true interest of Sarawak to gain the support of England, and my own feelings, spite of all that has passed, incline me to this view. The choice, however, rests with Ministers, and let this be my witness, that I have done my duty in freely offering it to them.

"The Government of Bruné is utterly decayed, and there can be no hope of promoting British interests through its means. That Government, if Government it can be called, is feeble and rapacious; it does not rule, but ravages, its dependencies. . . . No permanent development of commerce can accrue on such a rotten foundation, whilst the increase of European trade is synonymous with the increase of oppression.

"The Treaty of Bruné was expressly entered into to correct this state of affairs, and thence to advance British interests by resting them on a base of right principles. Whatever views, therefore, may now be entertained, it is at any rate unworthy of an honest nation to countenance such a Government, or to become the acquiescent spectator of such atrocities as are daily occurring. There is not even the excuse of self-interest to warrant the departure from principle; nor will the means insure the result intended; for what must be the end of this policy of non-intervention? Is it not certain to involve British interests, so as to drive Government to take possession of Bruné, or else by force to control and correct its affairs? Is it not certain to produce antagonism and discussion between Brunó and Saráwak, by the countenance given to evil, to the neglect of right principle? The reverse is the picture of Saráwak. Its government is progressive,

liberal, and affording protection to the poorer classes: and it is from Saráwak alone that improvement can emanate, or commerce be developed. The English Government by friendly relations here would insure every object it ever aimed at, and the system of non-intervention now regnant might be pursued without dishonour, and without involving the consequences I have pointed out.

"What difficulty is in the way of such a course? Saráwak, it must be admitted, deserves fair treatment, whether from the character of her Government, the professions of the past, or the British interests involved in the country; and in return she can advance the policy of England—to preserve some influence, and to extend her commerce by indirect and passive means. Can the importance of this policy be forgotten? Here is a country, intermediate between Australia and China, which can command, and will shortly supply, the coal requisite for increasing steam communication, and which in due season can afford convenient coaling stations. These advantages cannot be gained through Bruné, for they are dependent on the maintenance of the order and on the stability of Government which must be sought in Sarawak —and Sarawak offers these advantages at the price of countenancing a just instead of an unjust Government.

"The sole objection which I can perceive, is the fact that a British subject is the ruler of the country. . . . Can such a difficulty not be overcome? Is there no wit to devise an expedient remedy?—no boldness to test the legality of my position with a view to its rectification should I be a law-breaker? The question is whether a British subject can be the ruler of a State, as holding his title from a free people, and having no right to transfer the country without their consent; and, secondly, as the *de facto* ruler, can he be legally recognized *after the Crown has refused to accept the sovereignty, and declined advancing any claim which it might possess through its subject?* This is the question to be solved, and surely there can be no obstacle to this first step towards a better understanding.

"Is the objection personal to myself? I am ready to resign in favour of my successor. To insure the safety, the independence, of Saráwak, I would sacrifice myself and my kin; though, hingeing as the Government does on personal attachment to us, I doubt whether consistently with these objects it could be carried on by others. None of us regard titles or names or things unreal so that Saráwak possesses the reality. Call me king, or raja, or minister, or dog, I care not—only it must be manifested, as the truth is, that Sarawak is independent of Bruné, so as never to be misgoverned or held responsible for its acts.

"Let us in this matter have plain dealing without the reserve which leads to ruin, or the apathy which is the token of weakness. Saráwak is not dependent on England; we are no supplicants for favour; we ask a plain question and want a plain answer, so that one way or the other we may pursue our course. For fair-play's sake let us no longer be kept in durance in the limbs of 'anomaly,' half acknowledged, half disavowed; our courts recognized, and yet our Government shut out from the means of official communication, and unable to receive a British officer in an official capacity.

"This 'anomalous position' (I thank Lord Clarendon for the phrase), joined to the vacillation and inertness of measures, must produce the worst results. You are sowing the seeds of oppression and misgovernment, and, believe me, you will reap the harvest of embarrassment and failure. Be men at any rate, and act openly. Tear off the dirty mask of official reserve. Let us know friend from foe, and no longer rest content with idle professions. Repulsed, as well as neglected, Saráwak need wait no longer on England, for I am not the donkey to starve between two bundles of hay, or the fool to fall betwixt two stools.

"As an Englishman I have done and am still willing to do what my duty dictates. The alternative is now fairly offered, and let it be pushed to a choice. Your own knowledge of my previous communications will supply all the information you need, and there will be ample time for further correspondence.

The point which remains is how to join battle. . . . . Put the question on the ground of national policy, and not as personal to myself; and it may be justly joined to our proceedings in China, for if the confusion of our diplomatic relations in that country is to be remedied and our position maintained there, the same should be done here. There, as here, supineness has been the root of all evil, and confusion its consequence, and when a vigourous and high-handed but just policy had few friends, I was its advocate in words and its sustainer in action.

"I need say no more. The protection or recognition of Saráwak is the point at issue, and my position can be brought into accord with the law of my own country or the feelings of my own sovereign. There shall be no difficulty from any personal claims of mine. Let Saráwak be safe and I shall be happy and raised far beyond petty squabbles or low pretensions.

"I sincerely seek the welfare of this people, and recommend an honest and straightforward policy to my own country. My personal feelings you are acquainted with already. I am dead politically, unless forced into action by adversity; and my personal interests are not involved unless I be called upon to make further sacrifices and again to bear my badge of suffering.

"Take any measures you think best, then. I no longer heed the use of my name, and if you think any good can come of it, publish, as you proposed, my correspondence as a continuation of the 'History.' This history is not far from its close in relation to the letter-writer, and the publication can but make a senseless clamour of praise or blame.

'And what care I
For such outcry!'

Sympathy we shall have as plentiful as holy water or women's tears, but sympathy is the fool's guerdon, for there is no man so poor or so stupid who may not in action support a just cause without whining over its danger or its loss. Push on, then, to an issue: events will not wait on tardiness, and at the quickest pace it will take a year to decide.

"With the political question should, in my opinion, be combined the removal of the Consulate to Saráwak, and the consequent right direction of trade towards our Settlement of Labuan; for this Settlement should have fair play or be abolished. One gunboat would do for the entire coast, liable to the requisitions of the Consul-General, whose appointment would be a diplomatic one as at present, but without jurisdiction in Saráwak. Thus the web of the old and just policy would be re-spun, and extended only so far as Ministers may choose. It is not worth their while, for want of a slight exertion, to throw away influence and political position. But, as I said before, the choice lies with them."

In September, Muka and Oya being still in misery, the Raja, having no authority to interfere directly, went to Brunê to make one more effort to relieve them.

"The Sultan and the rest were glad to see me, and I got full power to act in Muka. They were, indeed, all of them cordial, because the opposing factions rely on me, look forward to my support, and utterly distrust each other. The interior is depopulated, by the account lately brought by Mr. De Crespigny,* a naval officer, on his travels. The Sultan and Makota are on the worst terms with the Pangeran Tumangong and his party, and, if nothing worse comes of it, the effect must be to render the Government weaker and more weak.

"I felt at once on going that I retained my hold over them. They like me personally. They know I have power (though they guess not how little!) and that I will use it if necessary. For four days I espied the nakedness of the land and the divisions of their councils, and then crossed to Labuan, where the governor was exceedingly polite and I not backward in evincing that the past of Labuan had been erased from my memory. Could I triumph in the mischief of a wrong cause I might have done so, when the consequences which have resulted in Labuan from our weak

* Mr. De Crespigny afterwards entered the Saráwak Government service, and is now Resident of Muka.

policy, and the neglect of my advice, were witnessed. The Sultan and his ministers treat the governor with cool neglect, if not contempt. Men from the coast commit murder, and kidnap, within the Settlement, and no redress is to be had. The Consulate is cutting the throat of her Majesty's possession and of British interests. The English are not respected, neither are they feared nor obeyed. The fruit of our weak policy is now apparent and allowed.

"Let us not complain nor triumph. Let us regret and mend this state of affairs.

"At Muka I called together the rival factions which have been murdering each other, and disturbing the trade for the past four years, into my presence. The Sultan's chops* were displayed before me.

"I sat cross-legged, barefooted, in my robes of state, namely, a shirt and pair of white continuations! On my right sat Pangeran Dipa; on my left, Pangeran Matusen, who killed his (Dipa's) father; in front, the ministers of the country, whose relatives, forty in number, had been put to death in cold blood by Dipa's party—betrayed to surrender by the use of my name. There were Brunė and Saráwak nakodahs, and some four hundred persons of all denominations present.

"The chops were read, ordering peace, and authorizing me to punish a breach of it. I then spoke, in the subdued tone which suits a native auditory—most gentle when threatening most. I asked them individually and collectively whether they submitted to the Sultan's order. I held the scales even between the parties. I pointed out the advantage of peace. I became the personal security of each chief, to assure the other in turn of his good conduct, and concluded by saying that the first who caused me to break the word thus publicly pledged with their consent, should be my enemy. To the mass I held out encouragement and threats of punishment: the blessing of peace on the one hand, the sword on the other.

"The impression I wished was produced. If the rajas

* Official documents bearing the seal of State.

fight, they will not have backing, and the people will look to me more and more. Thus two points are won: 1. The trade secured. 2. My authority to interfere granted. It is a great gain, and a relief to my mind.

"We returned to Saráwak on September 23rd, and found all well, and your [Mr. Templer's] most welcome letter of August. I shall not say anything on business matters, because, after reading all you write, I decided on the spot to proceed home.

"I shall have the pleasure of once more seeing you all. My head grows giddy at the thought of London streets. I shrivel before your biting winds. I have a sensation of mixed pleasure and pain. I wish to do right, but I am not over-confident in my own virtue; and, at any rate, I determine that my affairs shall be finally settled:—

"1. I buy a steamer after my own fancy, but think you I won't make a voyage in her!

"2. I shall fully explain my views to the Borneo Company.

"3. I will meet Ministers if they desire it and invite me.

"4. I shall enjoy the society of my friends.

"This is the positive, now the negative is:—

"1. I will not be made a spectacle of, nor over-fed to please the Lord Mayor himself.

"2. I will not be promiscuous: I will only associate with pleasant people.

"3. I will not be bothered with business.

"4. I will not be a canting hypocrite.

"The programme of my life is not quite settled. Keppel proposes I should live with him, as before, in the Park. This sounds likely, and will be economical, for I am as stingy as great desires and small means should make me. A penny saved is a screw in the new steamer. If this plan miscarries, I shall take a quiet lodging or chambers in Belgravia, and, head-quarters once fixed, I can traverse an orbit as eccentric as any comet's. Oh, Jack! save, oh, save me from the powers of boredom and cant!

"There is another reason which inclines me always to absent myself from Saráwak, and it is that Brooke may again take his proper position and administer the Government. It is difficult to effect the change when I am here. After an absence it is more easy to keep aloof from affairs. I like to see him the 'Lord who rules.' The change which must be at my death I am desirous should be prepared for, if not effected, whilst I yet live. I leave the Government with confidence. Our revenues are fast recovering, nay, I believe almost as great (or small) as before the row. We get now about £10,000 per annum. Antimony will add a thousand after next year, coal ditto. Chinese are steadily coming in from Sambas; and with population revenue improves. Three hundred Chinese arrived within the last day or two. Thus, you see, we are advancing ever since the last month or two.

"Keppel is here, the same kind friend as ever. The Emperor of Japan's yacht touched here during my absence, bringing Alderson* and Watson. If the life suits them, we shall be glad of their services. Will you let Lady Alderson know, and say all that is kind on the subject. I have not seen either of them, as they are both away with Charley Grant.

"I may close my letter by telling you the good news of our party. Annie is fast recovering her confinement: Basil the first, a fine stout boy. Charley Grant and his wife have a sweet pretty little babe, a girl.

"P.S.—Many, many loves to all. I shall see the green gate—for green it is. Write to me—Post Office, Galle, Ceylon."

This green gate belonged to a former house of Mr. Templer's, and since his removal to Harrow had been a thing of the past; but the Raja would never willingly part, even in imagination, with the old associations that surrounded those he loved, and in a later letter we find—

* Son of Baron Alderson. He became a great favourite among Europeans and natives, but from failure of health he was obliged to leave the Saráwak Government service, and he died some years later in New Zealand.

"You will not know me again as I enter the green gate. I am old, old, old! 'Pity the sorrows of a poor old man!'"

This was written on December 2nd, when nearing Suez. The letter begins—

"This is to announce my approach, *viâ* Southampton, in the good ship upon whose deck we parted nearly five years ago. What furrows have been dug on the brow and the heart since then. The devil has laid his claw upon my visage, and some injustice has eaten at my heart; but as I approach Old England my feelings soften, and I would act a calm part for the public good: forgiving and I hope forgiven—seeking no publicity and no favour, but shirking no responsibility. It is not in her hour of trial that I should be found wanting to my country, and I have the sorry satisfaction of knowing that the resolute policy I recommended, with the gentle conciliation I practised, would have saved us from the worst part of the Indian catastrophe, and found us with the people at our back against the mutinous soldiery.

"The day of cant and spurious compassion is at an end, but lo! we have an hypocrisy of violence and blood-shedding and excommunication, while those who talk loudest probably mean least."

Mrs. Nicholetts accompanied her uncle home. Christmas was passed by him with his sister, Mrs. Savage, at Brighton; while she made her way to Lackington followed by his inquiry, "How did Mary's new bonnet stand the journey?"

In February, 1858, the Raja was at Harrow, and in March on a visit to Mr. (now Sir Thomas) Fairbairn at Northwood, near Manchester. His true and tried friend, Lord Ellesmere, was dead. Through him the Raja had become acquainted with Mr. Fairbairn, and the acquaintance grew into a warm and steadfast friendship.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1858.

By desire of Lord Clarendon, the Raja, soon after his arrival in England, drew up the subjoined statement of his proposals regarding Saráwak.

"At the present time, when the policy of the country in the East has to be reconstructed, and probably India, including Singapore, brought under the direct administration of the Crown, the future position of Saráwak and the Archipelago deserves consideration. Saráwak, jointly with Singapore, in some degree commands the China Sea. It possesses navigable rivers; the coast is clear of danger, and during the adverse monsoon offers an advantageous route to and from China. The soil is fertile, trade increasing, and the population alive to the benefit of good government; above all, coal abounds, which must become of the highest importance to the nation which possesses it; and it may be added that the northern and north-western coasts of Borneo afford facilities for the increase of commerce and of our political influence.

"In 1841, Sir James Brooke acquired the country of Saráwak, which he has since ruled, but it will be evident that a petty native State so situated can exist only at the pleasure of a powerful European neighbour, unless supported from without. The question then arises whether her Majesty's Government will directly or indirectly afford the support required; and it may be said that the lives and properties of many British subjects are involved in the decision.

"This support might be given—

"1st. By the transfer of the country to the Crown; and every facility would be rendered to the transfer on terms securing the rights of the natives, and the satisfaction of just claims on the Government of Saráwak.

"2nd. By the recognition of Sir James Brooke's position; or,

"3rdly. By a Protectorate under the rule of a Prince of the Royal family.

"The two last would be expedients involving present and future difficulties, and therefore the first proposition is chiefly to be considered. The transfer of the country (with its administration at an early subsequent period) might be made, but the establishment would require to be increased, the expenses would be heavy, experience deficient, the British laws found to be inapplicable to the state of society, and the native mind might be disturbed by sudden change. It would be therefore more prudent to acquire on the part of the Crown the right of possession at once, but to delay the transfer of the administration according to the circumstances which may hereafter arise.

"In fact, it would become a British possession with a native administration superintended by Englishmen. In this case the Government would remain either with Sir James Brooke or his nephew, Captain Brooke, whose powers would be derived from the Crown. A large discretion should be granted, the present system continued, fairly tested, and gradually improved, preparatory to the contemplated alteration.

The terms of transfer to be considered are—

"1. The rights of the natives. Their religion, laws, and customs should be respected and gradually improved with their own consent, but not arbitrarily altered. The objects of the Government heretofore have been to raise the natives, to lead them, to teach them their just rights as a people, and to give them a share in framing and administering the laws under which they live. The same general principles should in future

be maintained, and the Government—which has been so successful during many years—left to work out the development of the country. Saráwak upon these terms would be happily governed, and the natives would appreciate the stability and increased security of their position.

"On the 2nd point, viz., the liquidation of the claims on the Government of Saráwak, it may be remarked that what is due to Sir James Brooke and his family must, in a great degree, be left to the justice of the nation, but perhaps the sum which has been directly or indirectly laid out to bring the country to its present prosperous condition might be refunded, and a further sum, in consideration of the revenue and other public property to be made over, might be paid at once, or the payment guaranteed at such time as the transfer of the administration shall take place.

"It will be sufficient thus briefly to indicate the course by which the Crown could acquire possession of the country at the same time that it insured good government and increased security for the natives, with a just compensation to Sir James Brooke, and obtained many advantages to England, at slight cost.

"The above suggestions, at the request of the Earl of Clarendon, are offered with diffidence, and may be modified by a more detailed consideration of the subject; but the object (to which the detail should be subservient) is to secure good government, and to place Saráwak beyond the danger of political change."

In a private note to Lord Grey, of February 11th, following a conversation, a modification of this proposition, with a view to avoid certain difficulties, was made by the Raja, and a Protectorate suggested as the better course.

"To make this a reality, England should have a direct interest in the future of Saráwak. This could be done by stipulating that Saráwak was not to be transferred (to any foreign power), and that it should become a British possession on given terms, should circumstances arise to render it neces-

sary; and in lieu for this concession I would propose that this country should repay the sum I have laid out to bring Saráwak to its present prosperous condition. This would give the direct interest, preclude the intrusion of any other State, and establish the confidence which is at the root of stability. My pecuniary claim on the country would thus be wiped out, and I should be enabled to place a steamer on the coast which would afford real and permanent protection, with only such support as the navy could occasionally furnish. I may add that when this was done I should be no richer than I was twenty years ago, and looking at the justice of the case, the country developed, the British interests involved, the advantages to be gained, to the past as well as to the future, there would be no difficulty in going to Parliament for the grant required.

"Considering the English view of the question, I should say that it would be prudent to guarantee a fixed sum to be paid to my family, in the event of Saráwak being made over to the Crown; at present the sum would be small as bearing some proportion to the revenue, whereas hereafter it might be large enough to occasion difficulty.

"However this may be, I cannot think that a barren Protectorate, curtailing no obligations, involving no public interests, easily given and easily neglected, could in practice end well; nor, indeed, if the political position be worth protecting, should the personal sacrifice devolve upon me alone. Saráwak cleared of my claims, should stand on its own resources, and with the protection of England, and safety without and the means of maintaining security within (which this protection would afford), she would have made a great step.

"This once achieved, I would transfer the Government to my successor, and live, unburdened by anxiety, as the friend and adviser of the natives.

"In this manner I see my way clearly: confidence and stability for Saráwak, and a present and future interest for England, with a perfect assurance to both of the country not

falling into other hands. I write this because I should like Lord Clarendon to know this modification of my former suggestion."

Eight days after the date of this letter, Lord Palmerston's Government was defeated (February 19th) on the Conspiracy to Murder Bill, and on the 20th resigned office. Lord Derby succeeded as Premier, Lord Malmesbury took Lord Clarendon's place in the Foreign Office, while Lord Stanley and Sir E. B. Lytton became Secretaries for the Colonies.

The foregoing propositions were submitted by the Raja to the new Government, at first with no success, afterwards with some encouragement. In August, after a conversation with Sir E. B. Lytton, he drew up and sent to him the following memorandum:—

"Saráwak was ceded to Sir James Brooke, and offered to the Crown. Declining this offer, England nevertheless imperiously asserted against the claims of Holland her right to form settlements on the north-west coast of Borneo, and stipulated in the treaty with Borneo for the exclusion of foreign powers without her consent.

"The intention may be inferred from these preliminaries and the measures subsequently pursued.

"Saráwak became virtually a protected State. Her ruler was appointed a public officer of the Crown, and such unequivocal countenance and support were given as to assure the natives, and to induce British subjects to embark their lives and fortunes in the country.

"The support and encouragement were subsequently withdrawn, and therefore it is now required of England to grant efficient protection, or to abandon Saráwak with the British interests involved in it. Neither justice nor policy warrants a procrastination which must result in ruin to the native State.

"In 1852, Sir James Brooke wrote that—'This policy should be pursued or abandoned: on the one hand, our course should be well regulated, or on the other, the public money should be saved. The middle course of pretending to do what

we are not really doing, is not only absurd, but it is wicked, unjust to the natives, and disgraceful to ourselves.'

"This describes the policy of England since 1850. Holland, on the other hand, has acted with consistency and fairness. Asserting her claims in vain, she has assisted Saráwak whenever opportunity occurred, and hoping the best from the neglect of England, she avows that a good understanding exists between the two Governments on this subject; that Saráwak will receive no further support from England; and that on the death of Sir James Brooke it will fall naturally into her hands.

"Saráwak acknowledging the aid afforded, and (failing England) the advantages which might result from an amicable arrangement with Holland, urges that even granting the above assertion to be correct, yet the speculation on the chapter of accidents is not based on future probabilities. Captain Brooke, it is maintained, has virtually succeeded to Saráwak, and has for several years proved himself equal to the charge. The Government is well organized, the natives attached, and Englishmen with capital not wanting on an emergency to defend their stake in the country.

"In short, Saráwak would be in a position to retort intrigue with success, or to resist aggression with resolution, trusting to English blood shed and English interests ruined, for the national sympathy and support in the hour of need.

"It is further urged that should England recede from her position in Borneo, an appeal made to the generosity of France would probably obtain the requisite protection, and that the United States of America, avowedly jealous of the political system of Holland, would never permit an encroachment on her part on a country which she has formerly acknowledged.

"Briefly, then, this is the probable course of events, and these the evils which may be averted by timely arrangement; and, indeed, no course could occasion such serious complications as trusting to chances which may never occur, and declining the obvious means of settling a question which will become more difficult the longer it is neglected.

"A final appeal is therefore made to the good faith of England, for the sake alike of her own subjects and the natives, to settle this question in one or other mode here proposed, or which may be suggested by herself.

"1. That England should take possession of Saráwak. (*Vide* Sir James Brooke's memorandum to Lord Clarendon.)

"2. That England should grant a Protectorate, and become the public creditor of Saráwak, with a stipulation that on *certain terms* she might take possession of the country whenever her interests required it. (See Sir James Brooke's memorandum to Lord Derby, and speech at Manchester.) The terms alluded to being the same as before stated (see Sir James Brooke's memorandum to Lord Clarendon), viz., That the religion, laws, and customs of the natives be respected, and that the payment of a certain sum be guaranteed to the Ruler of Saráwak upon the transfer, in consideration of the revenue and other public property to be handed over.

"3. That England should grant a Protectorate, and advance the sum of £50,000, in order to preserve the present and prospective advantages offered by Saráwak, and to relieve Sir James Brooke from the responsibility he has incurred in establishing and developing the country.

"This simple proposition pledges England to no ulterior measures, as it may be inferred that the transfer of Saráwak would be made when required, and that the terms of transfer would be just to the natives, to the successor of Sir James, and to the public servants of Saráwak.

"4. Should England resolve upon the abandonment of Saráwak, and of her exclusive privilege in Borneo, it is proposed as an act of justice and good faith, as the least reparation for the past, and as the means of averting the evils otherwise likely to ensue, that she should become a party to an arrangement with Holland, with a view of placing Saráwak under the protection of that nation, and thus indirectly to obtain from British interests that permanency and security which she refuses directly to grant. The ar-

rangement proposed would be of advantage to all parties, and should the mediation under the circumstances be denied, then Saráwak will be abandoned indeed."

In a letter which accompanied the above, the Raja wrote—

"My great object is to obtain *permanency* for Saráwak, as it is not wise or safe to continue in our present anomalous position.

"The proposition for the immediate possession is attended with serious difficulties. Saráwak is a native Government, and the natives administer it largely, and are always consulted before the imposition of new taxes. I have held it as a principle to keep the taxes as low as possible, and in this respect to suit the Government to the native mind. Salaries are on the most moderate scale, my own not exceeding, when in the country, £500 a year; and the gentlemen who rule large and distant provinces, not receiving more, in any case than £300 per annum. The inhabitants, likewise, are our militia; and thus, our expenses of about £12,000 per annum, are kept within our revenue, though with difficulty. We look for increase from the development and prosperity of the country, and this has not as yet failed us. The debt on the Government, independently of my claims, is now about £5000, incurred in consequence of the late Chinese insurrection.

"The principle acted on is a good one in dealing with natives, and the consequence is they are attached to their Government, and are the lightest-taxed people in the world.

"What is sufficient, however, for a native Government, largely worked by native machinery, would not do for a British colony, and the increased expense would require either increased taxation on a large scale, or a yearly vote from Parliament. The first would contrast most unfavourably with the acts of the present Government, and destroy the popular character of the administration which is at the root of success; and the latter would place Saráwak in the same unstable position as Labuan now is. It would never do to trust to a popular assembly for means; and taxation would be an unhappy expedient.

"There is another difficulty—that Saráwak Proper could be transferred to the Crown, whereas its dependent districts, being held in perpetuity under the Sultan, could not be made over without his consent, though they might be protected.

"There seem to me serious objections to immediate transfer, which would not exist hereafter; and the more serious, that the necessities of a larger Government on the change would fall on the natives, and perhaps destroy my favourite project of developing a native country by native means, guided by English intelligence.

"The letter to Lord Grey will explain itself. Lord Grey was decidedly of opinion that the modification of the first proposition would entail all the restraints and responsibilities of actual possession without any of the advantages.

"Enclosure No. 3, for Lord Derby, includes the proposition for a Protectorate, and the liquidation of my outlay, etc., or the arrangement that Saráwak should become a British colony whenever wanted, and in the meanwhile answer all the purposes of one, under its native Government. On all accounts the repayment of my private fortune would be of advantage, but especially as it would place Saráwak in a position of efficiency, enable her to keep a small steam vessel, and relieve her of the debt she has incurred.

"My object is to place my nephew, Captain Brooke, in authority, and to seat him firmly during my life. Whenever matters went wrong, I should be present, but whilst prosperous he would administer the government alone.

"Under a Protectorate there would not be, so far as I can see, the anomaly and difficulty which at present exist. Liberia is a Protectorate under a British subject; and in India such protections are common. The Dutch always advance on this principle; and Saráwak, as a protected State, might obtain the support of a gunboat or two (not on special, but on general service), and a visit occasionally from a larger force to maintain *prestige*. England could provide, through its Consul, that the dependent State regulated its policy consistently with the rights of other States; and the personal

position of the ruler, who would be but a subject though an independent ruler, might be readily arranged.

"Thus Saráwak, with its British interests and native Government, would be developed; she would be removed from exciting the cupidity of her European neighbours; and thus she would continue useful till advantageously absorbed in the mighty power of England.

"Enclosure No. 4 is as yet a private paper, sketching the political position at present, and what it may be in future. The concluding proposition was only meant to be brought forward after the others had been declined; but it will be better at once to place you in possession of the whole case.

"Labuan, in my opinion, should not be abandoned if the policy proposed be accepted. It never has had a fair chance, and every reason which led to the position continues good. But it must pay shortly, or the House of Commons will withdraw its support. To effect this, I would propose making it a convict settlement; and the credit for one thousand convicts, at £10 each per annum, would cause it to flourish, and enable capitalists to trust to its stability and to work the coal. It would be better to transfer the Settlement to the Indian Board, and credit it with the Hong-kong and Consular convicts. The outlay for our convicts is already considerable, and must increase, and some Settlement must be found to receive them. So pressing is this point that Sir John Bowring, about two years ago, proposed sending convicts and deported vagabonds to Borneo Proper.

"Should the Indian Board decline to take Labuan, still their Bombay and Chinese convicts from the Straits Settlements might be sent there and credited to the Settlement. It seems, however, reasonable that the Straits Settlements and Labuan should be under a single department of Government; and in making Labuan a convict establishment the pecuniary difficulty would be overcome. Political measures would reassure the natives of the coast, prevent the Sultan of Borneo from any underhand interference to injure the

Settlement, and the trade our apathy has driven into Borneo Proper would come, as originally intended, into Labuan.

"The above is a sketch of my views on the subject, which I have hastily written rather than delay it. Your kindness yesterday encourages me to this frank exposition which, though not public, I should not wish to be considered confidential further than your judgment dictates."

These negotiations were, as all the preceding ones with the British Government had been, more or less unsatisfactory, and very trying from the complete uncertainty of result and the apparent impossibility of "tearing something decisive out of their fishy hearts." The letter to Sir E. B. Lytton was written after an expression of interest on his part, which had cheered the Raja, whose usual frame of mind is, however, shown in a letter to his nephew Charles. It is dated, Tilbaster Cottage, near Godstone, Surrey, April 7th.

"I wrote Brooke yesterday that I should not by this mail reply to yours of January 21st, but I am impelled to do it, first to tell you how much comfort I derive from your letters. I am sure Brooke will give you the sole management in Sarebus, as well as in your own river; for he must feel as I do, that you are the right man in the right place, and that we are all children in Dyak management compared with you. I quite agree with what you say about letting time and trial decide which is the best man to manage Sarebus; and I think the encouragement of the Sarebus Malays may be good.

"I often think I should like to reside there myself and let you carry on the government. There is a fine field for development in your two rivers, and a population to be welded for good or evil—the former slowly, the latter fast enough.

"I am doing my best here to excite some attention to our affairs, or, at any rate, to get a decision one way or another; but hope I have none, for the Government, whether this or another, only desires to be rid of us, and the country is ignorant and indifferent.

"Manchester gives me a dinner, and there is more intelligence in Manchester than in any other city in England; but

a dinner, we know, is eaten and forgotten quickly enough. Now do, my dear Charley, think of something to give us an impulse, for if we are alone we must go ahead. War, conquest, discovery: what is it to be? Think seriously of our position, and how to mend it.

"I feel rather low to-day, wishing myself at Sakarran, or on the top of Peninjau. This cottage is charming, if I could have peace of mind to enjoy it thoroughly. Even as it is, I am very happy when at rest for a few days."

Public meetings and public dinners, abjured beforehand, were submitted to, for there could be no repose while the destiny of Saráwak hung in the balance. He writes gratefully at this time of the efforts of his friends "to collect and explode the scattered grains of sympathy" throughout the country, the object being to bring the pressure of public opinion on the Government.

The Manchester dinner took place on April 21st. The Mayor, Mr. Ivie Mackie, presided, and Mr. T. Fairbairn occupied the vice-chair. The Raja's speech is given here in full because he referred to it afterwards as being a deliberate expression of opinion.

"Were my heart bared before you," he said,* "it would be seen that I am paying you even a higher compliment than you have just paid me—a compliment to your kindness, to your justice, and to the influence which you possess in the country. Your warm reception of me, which rings in my ears, and knocks at my heart, not only excites pride but awakens hope; not only gratifies my personal feelings, but induces me to seek your support in obtaining objects involving the happiness of a native race, and the lives and the fortunes of your own countrymen in a distant land—objects to which, I need scarcely remind you, I have devoted life and fortune for many years past, and to attain which I would willingly sacrifice both; objects politically and commercially important, and deeply affecting the character and position of this nation in the Eastern Archipelago; objects which by timely arrange-

* Report of the *Manchester Guardian*.

ments might be gained without risk and without expense, which may be lost from continued neglect and indifference, and which must, I am convinced, be regretted when too late. For the nation which to this day deplores the cession through ignorance of the fair island of Java cannot fail to regret, when it is aware of its value, the loss of the north-west coast of Borneo—vainly to regret the opportunities wasted and the advantages cast away.

"Let it not be so, gentlemen. I implore you to weigh this subject well in its political and commercial bearings, both present and future; to regard the claims of justice and humanity; to decide, and if you decide in favour of my views, to act, and to induce others to act, so that you may establish a policy and a position in those seas which may be worthy of a great nation.

"The simple question before you is 'Shall Saráwak in future be supported as it once was, or be abandoned as it now is?' The British policy centres upon this question; it is the touchstone of progress or retrogression; and after fifteen years' suspense—suspense more hard to bear than misfortune—is it not reasonable to seek an answer to it? Is it not just and right to beg for the final settlement of affairs which will no longer brook delay?—to ask whether a petty State, ruled by an Englishman, and fostered so long, is now to be abandoned with all the British interests in it?

"At any rate, let us know our fate; for no Government can exist, as that of Saráwak has been doing, under a prolonged delay—under a prolonged uncertainty of what is coming; weakened by her very fidelity to this country; hoping against hope for the aid which comes not; and trusting to the faith, the justice, and the generosity of England—trusting, I hope, not in vain.

"Better, gentlemen, to know the worst than to be ruined by inches. Better, I say, to know the worst—to know that we are aliens, to know that our country has cast us off—than to procrastinate and perish; better to tear the bandage from our eyes than longer to grope in the murky darkness of doubt.

Let us have the truth, if we can have nought else; and then, if we find neither sympathy nor encouragement from our countrymen, no arrangement or sustained support from the Government, we will bear our lot as best we may, and trust to God and our own energies for the rest. I hope for the best from the justice of my country; but I would rather dare the worst than live as I have lived, tortured by a ceaseless, a cruel, and, I must say, a needless suspense. The worst!—what is the worst? Is it death? No, no; death is not the worst lot for me. It is the responsibility almost too heavy to bear, and the hope delayed that maketh the heart sick.

"Pardon me if some feelings find expression. I am aware that this is no matter of feeling, but one of right and reason; and I will try, as briefly and coolly as I can, to relate some passages of my life immediately connected with the subject before you.

"I was twenty years younger, and forty years lighter of heart than I now am, when I left England for the shores of Borneo. I had some fortune, more ambition, and no outlet for it. There are thousands and thousands of our countrymen whose hearts like mine are higher than their positions. Circumstances more like romance than reality made me a ruler in Saráwak. I felt a resolution to grasp the power tendered to my hand; and I swam upon the tide which leads to fortune or ruin. Around me were murder, rapine, and anarchy. The weak were oppressed by the strong hand of licence and violence. There was no security for life or property. Government there was none, and trade was extinct. I was struggling to restore something like order and to stem this torrent of evil when the gallant Admiral now present (Sir Henry Keppel) gave me, from a sense of public duty, the assistance which I so much needed. We were then strangers; we are now the tried friends of fifteen years. I will not praise or thank him, for his deeds are his best eulogium; and my acknowledgment may be summed up in the words, 'He is my friend, and the benefactor of Saráwak.'

"This was the first act of the drama. Permit me now to

present you with another scene. Saráwak prospered. Sir Thomas Cochrane, the able commander-in-chief, appeared on the coast with a force to command obedience. Good was ascendant over evil. Year by year the naval operations were continued with vigour abroad, and were approved highly at home. England was respected and she was feared. In the mean time I had become a public servant, and aided heart and hand to carry out these measures; for how could I believe them to be ephemeral and delusive? Everywhere the native was assured of the power and the will of England to repress disorder, to foster right, and to encourage commerce. These assurances were given by all our officers, and they were avouched by their continued action.

"In the mean time I returned home to find that I had achieved fame. The Prime Minister (Lord John Russell) thanked me in the name of the Government and of the State for the services I had rendered. I was proud indeed, for I believed that the services thus acknowledged would never subsequently be disavowed. Honours were showered upon me. I was appointed Commissioner to the native princes, and Governor of the new Settlement of Labuan; and before I quitted these shores, four months afterwards, it was deliberately resolved that the policy so auspiciously inaugurated should be vigorously carried out, and that the ascendency and influence of England should be maintained on the north-west coast of Borneo. Ruler of Saráwak, I had been appointed to places of high trust under the Crown. Ministers had defended my possession of that country; they had asserted the right of the nation to form a Settlement on the main-land of Borneo; and they had avowed their intention of availing themselves, in favour of the State, of the relations which I had established there. Thus, owing to the declarations made and the sanctions given, and, above all, to the action of our fleet and the policy of the measures carried out, the natives came to rely upon the faith and upon the support of England. British merchants, British missionaries, British subjects of various, classes were encouraged to embark their lives and

fortunes in the country; and I—at once the humble subject and the influential ruler—I implicitly trusted; for to have doubted would have been dishonour.

"I will waste no more words on the subject; but I would ask you, after all that has been said and done, after the declarations and sanctions given for the measures pursued, 'Can the State of Saráwak be abandoned without a breach of faith? Can British subjects be cast off, perhaps to death, and certainly to ruin?'

"I think you will concur with me, that such a course would cast a stain upon the good faith of the nation, at the very time when our rectitude and sincerity to the native races should be clearly manifested, both in Europe and India. I will not believe it possible that any Government of this country will sully the honour of the nation by the sacrifice of British interests, and by the destruction of native progress.

"I will hasten to a conclusion. Scarcely had I reached the scene of my labours in Labuan—beset with difficulties, everything to do, stricken down by fever—scarcely had our career commenced, when the very policy so deliberately resolved on was virtually abandoned. British ascendency was neglected; ships of war were withdrawn; our *prestige* was lost; and the new Settlement, which depended for its success solely upon the vigorous and successful prosecution of our policy, fell dead to the ground. Labuan was a bastard off-spring of Britain cast out to starve!

"But different might have been the result, and different it still might be, had that Settlement grown with the growth of our policy—had it been fostered by security and respect, and nourished by the diffusion of commerce. Painful discussions subsequently arose, to which I need only allude so far as to say that if in the course of them any man wronged me, he has been forgiven long ago. And if I have wronged any man, I would ask for that forgiveness which I have already granted. I am, I hope, too conscious of my own faults to judge harshly of the faults of others; and even of that veteran statesman now in his grave, I would say 'Peace be with him! May

his errors be forgotten, and let us all remember the services he rendered to his country!'

"Discussion bore its usual crop. From bad, affairs became worse; and to make a long tale short, the separation between my native and my adopted country was completed. Saráwak stood alone—independent but unsupported—prosperous but weak, and exposed to every risk and every danger which must beset a petty State in such a position.

"Judge then, gentlemen, the question I have stated to you. Judge as the natives judged of intention from fact. Ask yourselves whether a policy was built up for years only to be cast down again? Actions are the proofs of intention; and action and intention combined engender obligations not lightly to be violated. Should, then, Saráwak be now abandoned?

"There are, however, irrespective of this question, prudential considerations which must enter into the consideration of political subjects; and in the present case the inquiries will naturally arise, 'Was this policy wisely commenced? Should it be renewed? What are the advantages to be gained from it? and What may be the probable cost?'

"To answer these inquiries, we must glance at the geography of these countries. Imagine, stretched out before you, our vast possessions in India and Australia on the one hand, and on the other the vaster Empire of China. Between them lies the Eastern Archipelago, with its thousand islands, politically important, as being the key to China and the connecting link between the two oceans.

"Now, gentlemen, if you share with me the conviction that the progress of our commerce with China, our trade with that vast and peopled region, is to be developed by our energy and our enterprise, you must require from the Government of this country that the means should be apportioned to the end; that they should establish British influence on the shores of this East Mediterranean; and that they should provide in due time for the ever-increasing demands of our steam communication. Saráwak holds a position on the southern

shore of the China Sea, important alike for navigation and electric intercourse. Let any man of intelligence consult his chart, and declare the value of that position, present and future, to England, and also the sore hindrance it might become if permitted to pass into the hands of a foreign power.

"Already, I may say, the representatives of the great nations of Europe have congregated in China; already a European policy has been developed there; already the fleets of England and of France, of Russia and of America, guard the interests of their respective nations; already Russia possesses settlements on the northern shore of the China Sea; let England retain her hold upon the southern shore, and let her in doing so secure the advantages, neither few nor unimportant, which Saráwak has to offer.

"Saráwak possesses a population which has evinced its respect for good government and its fidelity to this country; and it is a proud thing to say, recurring to the recent occurrences in India, that there the native and the European have lived for twenty years past in friendly intimacy and in mutual respect. She has a fertile soil, calculated for the growth of many valuable tropical productions; she is rich in minerals, but richest in that most valuable of all minerals—coal; and her trade increases with the development of her resources.

"A political position, an increasing trade, the development of one of the fairest countries on the globe, and an ample supply of coal, are the advantages which Saráwak offers in exchange for permanency and a slight support. I need not expatiate on this subject, for the possession of a coal-field in those seas cannot be overvalued. Year by year it increases in value; year by year will the want of it lower our power in those regions; and I must say that any Minister who would not secure it upon reasonable terms cannot be considered a statesman.

"Here, then, are the advantages offered; the cost—if cost it can be called—I will briefly mention. To advance the interests of my own country and to obtain permanency for Saráwak I

would willingly have conceded the country, with the consent of its inhabitants, to the Crown; but there were serious objections to this concession, the most serious probably being the expense which a new colony would have entailed. The proposition, then, which I have made, as the basis of a future arrangement, is that England should grant a Protectorate, and that she should stand in the position of a public creditor to Saráwak; with a stipulation that, on certain terms, she might take possession of the country, whenever her interests required it.

"This proposition appears to me to combine all the advantages of possession with none of its liabilities. The native Government, which is suited to the people, and which they largely themselves administer, might be advantageously continued; while the possession *de facto* would rest with the Crown. There are not wanting precedents, if precedents be needed, for a Protectorate. And for the loan which is proposed, it is too small almost to be mentioned in this great city of Manchester, and it would be secured, principal and interest, upon the country itself. These are the terms on which I should desire to make a final arrangement with this country, and by which the greatest of all permanent blessings would be secured for Saráwak.

"But if it was required of me, I would sacrifice this sum of £40,000 or £50,000, though it was the fortune which I have inherited, and which I have expended to bring Saráwak to its present prosperous condition. No obstacle shall be raised on my part. I would not allow any selfish consideration to stand in the way of attaining a great public object; for I can stand before you to-night, and always before my country, with a conscious pride that my hands are unsullied by the love of lucre—that I have given all and received nothing.

"My tale is told. I will only say that for myself I am as nothing: for what is a handful of dust compared to the destiny of a people? And the subject which occupies us does involve the destiny of a noble race.

"You will pardon me, gentlemen, I am sure, if I have

been deficient in those complimentary phrases which are too often lavishly used upon a festive occasion like this. I have spoken earnestly to men of earnest purpose; and you will believe me, in all simple sincerity, that I feel grateful for the reception you have given me in your great city—a reception which, whether in good fortune or in bad, I shall ever remember with pleasure and gratitude."

Tilbaster Cottage, Godstone, was the Raja's home through this year. His great pleasure was to have relations and old friends with him, and occasionally to visit them. In a letter to Mrs. Nicholetts, written just before his journey to Manchester, he speaks of going to Lackington as soon as possible, "but my engagements thicken, and I must do my work in this dull world for the sake of all in Saráwak. I wish," he goes on, "you could cheer me always, for all is stale, flat, and unprofitable excepting the society of those we love—and for me, I am utterly sick and hopeless of everything, wishing only for quiet, *i.e.*, a mind untorn by anxiety. Work! work! dearest Mary, when we have nothing else we have that, and it is good for us.

"I think public attention will be aroused to the question, and then we may come to a decision; and the most unsatisfactory one would be a relief to me after ten years of uncertainty."

"I shall be disappointed if you don't come," runs a letter to Mrs. Johnson, of July 6th, "*i.e.*, a little, because you are dear to my eyes as well as to my mind. How I rejoice that Charles can spare you, for his sake and for my own! Ask him to write me. In good time I hope to see him. Time is fleeting, and love endures beyond time. Saráwak news is good, but I am not strong enough to read it in detail—my mind must be at ease if it can be, and it is so just now, pretty well. But mind, you have promised to come, and nothing but your husband's health must keep you away."

In a letter written on the following day he speaks of wishing them to know all his plans for Saráwak. "I have made

up my mind as far as it can be done, and I hope to carry you along with me." To this he added in October, "You must not be low or apprehensive; for the last eight years our cause, and the prospect of placing Saráwak, and Brooke and Charley, in stability and prosperity, has never been so hopeful. The Government cannot resist the pressure. So far we may be cheerful and rejoicing."

The pressure referred to had been brought about by memorials from London and the mercantile centres,* praying the Government to place the policy of the Eastern Archipelago on a more stable footing, and urging a line of action that of necessity included the recognition or annexation of Saráwak. A letter from the Raja, dated July 23rd, implies that Mr. Templer had urged his being present at an official interview, for he writes, "I cannot think that my presence would advantage a deputation. I am particularly bad at such a conference. . . . I shall much like to be spared this interview, which would be most painful to me, and place me in the light of a suppliant."

In September the Raja was entertained at Liverpool at a public *déjeûner* in the Town-hall. These are the closing words of his speech:—

"My personal interest [in Saráwak], if by personal interest be meant the acquisition of money, is small; if it be under-

* The council of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce appointed a sub-committee "to obtain information respecting Saráwak and Sir James Brooke's proposals in reference thereto." The report drawn up in consequence, and printed by order of the council, was entirely favourable to the Raja. The concluding sentence is as follows:—"The unavailing regret which followed the cession of Java by this country (a sacrifice attributable to Ministerial ignorance and incapacity) should make us pause ere we lightly abandon Saráwak. Sir James Brooke, however, does not propose to constitute her a British colony, but simply asks for the restoration of that protection from England which for many years, ending with 1850, she continuously received. To this course, on the score of expense at least, no just objection can be urged, and its adoption appears to us to be a duty incumbent on her Majesty's Government, whether in regard to the national honour, the advancement of civilization, or the true interests of British commerce. (Signed) "Arthur Robottom.
"Sampson S. Lloyd.
"W. L. Gilbart."

stood of higher and nobler feelings, it is large indeed. To gain the protection of my native country for Saráwak, to place her in a state of prosperous security, has been the passion of my life. . . . . I am at peace with all men, forgiving and I trust forgiven any hasty word or deed in the heat of political conflict. I crave no honours, I court no distinction; I would escape from the burden of proud responsibilities and the more crushing weight of prolonged suspense; but, whatever the future may bring, my duty must be done—Saráwak must be placed in security, and then my life's task will have ended."

On the 1st October he was at Preston attending a meeting in aid of the Church of England Mission in Saráwak. On the 13th he writes from Pollok, in Renfrewshire. The excitement of public life was not good for him, and he knew it, but there was no help. To do nothing was not only more trying still but simply impossible to him. On the 20th October he reached Mr. Fairbairn's house; and in that most friendly shelter was struck by paralysis.

The grief that came on those who for years had laboured in his cause was very great. They knew too well what had broken him down, and their common feeling seems to have been that what of life might yet remain to him must at any cost be spent in peace, and that into such a haven it should be theirs to bring him.

"My own conviction," writes Mr. Templer to Mr. Fairbairn, after a hasty visit to Northwood, "is that this attack is recoverable, but that his life's labour is over, and his public efforts must be closed. That his mind will remain clear and even active I also think, and that we may long reckon on his advice and counsel to guide us here and support his nephew in his Government abroad.

"It is difficult so early to hit the right course, but I think the negotiation with Government should proceed precisely on its present grounds. Any necessity for interviews here *I* could manage. With *his* mind and faculties unimpaired, he will still be able to hold the reins; and should the use of his

limbs be not restored, or only partially so, perhaps in a few months it would be better for him to make Harrow his residence, where I could be in daily communication with him, and a comfort and support to him."

The Raja's mind was clear throughout, and his memory unimpaired.

One of his first letters after the attack was to Dr. Rigby, with a special message to his old school-fellows. We learn something of it through a letter from Dr. Rigby to Mr. John Longe.

"36, *Berkeley Square, November* 2, 1858.—My dear Longe, —I send you the enclosed, just received. . . . It has deeply affected me, not only to know that our glorious school-fellow has been thus interrupted in the midst of his labours, but under such a warning of the shortness and instability of life, he remains 'in life or in death our loving school-fellow.' How touching is the little scratch so imperfectly drawn under the word '*loving*,' and yet how much does it express! This is indeed loving as a little child. No child's love can be simpler or purer than his, and yet combined with all the firmness and dignity of one who has fought a good fight, and who calmly awaits his summons to depart with the firm trust and faith of a Christian.

"Dear Longe, how much have we all to thank you for in having brought us thus together in our manhood, and already, in the latter half of our journey through life, to meet again, and love each other as little children. Every year must now bring us these warnings with increasing frequency; and why should they not, if 'we put our house in order,' and be ready for the Great Day?"

He was well enough to travel to town on November 4th, and there is a note from him, from Godstone of the 6th, in a hand not worse than it was always liable to be.

"Safe," he says to Mr. Templer, "and very glad to be at home. I was rather shaky after our converse; but pray write me a line to say what Brooke writes in answer to my

letters, and again assure me of their and the country's general prosperity; a word about Sarebus. Do not go into detail, because I am shaky. My sister is to be here to-morrow."

On the 9th he wrote to Mr. Fairbairn, and, after touching on troubles that were at the time giving his friend cause for anxiety, says—

"Do not allow this worry to continue. Come here for quiet: a land of dreamy heads it is, with nought of trouble, of anxiety.

"I am improving; very peaceful and cheerful. Life's fitful fever is over, though life may be prolonged. We are in God's keeping, and I cannot go into mourning for that, or preach in the dolefuls. Templer and Knox come here on Saturday."

In the same strain is a note to Sir Henry Keppel, of November 10th—

"I am getting on as well as can be expected; but either way it is all right. I do not think life pleasant enough to be worth keeping, but it offers sufficient to make it bearable if not burdened by pain and care. I am to be very quiet."

Of the permanent effect of this paralysis directly on the Raja it is impossible to speak with certainty. Indirectly, the effect was disastrous, for it was a cause of division in counsels hitherto almost undivided. An attack probably caused by continued pressure and irritation of brain and heart could not be overlooked, while, at the same time, few would agree as to the extent of its consequences in the future.

A letter from Mr. Templer to Mr. Fairbairn, of November 22nd, and others from the Raja himself, speak for themselves—

"My dear Fairbairn,—Lord Derby has fixed Tuesday, the 30th, at two o'clock, at the Treasury, to receive the deputation; so get your men together. I am just come from Mr. Crawford's. He insists on its being a Crown colony, and says Sir James Brooke's illness has knocked the Protectorate on the head; and he is right in this, as the Protectorate depended on his (the Raja's) personal influence. Sir James is getting better, but slowly, and the probability is it would be some time before he would be able to go out."

"*Godstone, November 23rd.*—My dear Jack,—I still think that the deputation should urge the favourable settlement generally, without the particular plan. I repeat that the immediate possession of Saráwak is *unwise*, and, in my opinion, impracticable without confusion.

"1. It does not provide for the government of Sarebus, Sakarran, etc., which is the important point. How are these rivers to be governed and kept in order? Are you going to open these rivers and to allow the piratical hordes to recommence their depredations, etc., etc.?

"2. *Vide* my letter to Sir Edward Lytton. How can Ministers *insure* a Parliamentary grant which will be large? for, as a British colony, you could not employ the natives as your militia.

"To tax the natives arbitrarily, to pay for a British Government would be unjust, and quite contrary to their present institutions. These two reasons alone will suffice to show the difficulty, at present insuperable, of an ignorant and blind British Government ruling.

"On the other hand, let well alone. My illness will not necessarily terminate in immediate death; but if it does, what then? Captain Brooke's Government wants the protection of England to render it safe from *without*. It is a native Government, and the chiefs themselves will take care to maintain it. It is based on principles which will not change with my death, and on interests eternal in men's breasts. The danger, as I have always told you, is from without. But the internal Government of Saráwak does not trouble me, and my experience is large.

"Pray send my letter and memorandum to Lord Derby. It has been sent to Sir E. Lytton. Ever and ever yours—J. Brooke.

"P.S.—Should I write finally to Government, as Fairbairn urges? A Crown colony will not stand alone. Saráwak will stand with a Protectorate, and, above all, the Protectorate has nothing to do with my life. A Crown colony is simply impossible, under such a Government as England, unless the

revenue be further advanced. A vote may be granted one year and withheld the next. There is no security, no guarantee for permanency. Protection and efficiency!—compensation is not the word. It is *not compensation*—it is a loan secured on the country. Let well alone, and be guided by my experience if my friends wish to serve Saráwak."

"*Godstone, November 24th.*—I cannot discuss the subject, for I have already felt the evil effects. I have offered to transfer Saráwak, but it must be with justice to the natives, and the questions I asked must be answered. Are we, on the the cession of Saráwak, to recede from the position I hold? Is Saráwak to depend on a Parliamentary grant, or on taxes to be levied on the natives? Is slavery, modified and gentle, to be permitted?—or are the institutions of the natives to be violated? I am bound to maintain the rights of the natives and Brooke's. You seem to think that years of experience and distrust are to be got over in a day, and the *mere name* of British Crown Colony act as a charm to govern people! On the contrary, if Ministers be in earnest, and if they have clear views of duty towards Saráwak and the coast—a policy of progress well defined—are prepared to meet and overcome difficulties—it may be arranged.

"But the great advantage of a Protectorate with right of possession is that it enables them to learn their duties. It will take a year or two to transfer the country, a year or two of doubt. Protection and efficiency once given, and at once the other may follow, and would, sooner or later, follow with experience instead of blindfold.

"I do prefer a Protectorate. My responsibility is to the natives, and I know this is the plan pleasing to them. I must know how the Government is to be carried on. I do know the British Government is apt to commence schemes and abandon them, to undertake responsibilities and neglect them!

"No, dear Jack, it is now in sickness and death that my duty has to be performed to my people, and it is not by a blind transfer to the British Crown that their freedom and

happiness can be secured. They are a free people, with a Government suited to them. My propositions will be seen in the first memo. to Lord Clarendon. Much will depend upon details, upon the earnestness and justice of the British Government; but mark this, that British interests depend upon the maintenance and establishment of order on the entire coast from Datu to Malludu. It is the resumption of the former policy. Saráwak, any way, is but a link.

"Finally, dear friend, the people, every Government servant, and myself, are in accord on this question; but, no doubt, if it can be shown that the Government can be carried on, that the noble districts now ruled shall not be abandoned to barbarism, and that the religion, laws, and customs of the natives be respected, our opinions may be modified. I cannot change my convictions; I cannot take the English *name* as a fact and a blessing; and if there be lukewarm objections of red tape to obstruct this or that plan, we shall be better without them. I must see my way clearly. I must have justice for the people. I know what I am about. Let the details come. They will be long and wearisome; on the other plan they would be speedy. I must do right at the footstool of God where I stand, and I consider no consequences. You may, however, believe me that I will judge fairly and coolly. Please, however, be chary with business, for I cannot bear it.

"P.S.—Let me know about my writing to Lord Derby officially. Fairbairn advises it, but I feel too unwell. Do think of the questions I have asked in my first letter, and how the details can be arranged. I do not want to throw the slightest obstacle or cold water on the kindness of my friends, or to prevent their having their own opinions; but the *details*, think of them, or how can I, blindfold, yield to transfer? I repeat the Government is firm, and I hope some member of the deputation will insist upon this, and let it be known that the danger is from without and not from within, and that this danger will be removed at any rate by Protection first."

"*November 25th.*—I was not very well yesterday, and so

may have shown it in my letter, which you will make allowance for and pardon. . . . Any solution which gives promise of security and happiness for Saráwak will be most acceptable to me. These we must have fairly considered, other interests are quite secondary in my sight. Wealth, ease, title, consideration, I might attain for myself and family, but in the long run it will be found that I seek the welfare of Saráwak above all other things, and that I am not going to sell Saráwak for my own advantage or the advantage of England. Saráwak advantage must be fairly and boldly represented, and the right view of the subject is to combine the two latter, and to let me have means to benefit Saráwak. By flying high at a Crown Colony we may gain a Protectorate. The major proposition may lapse into the minor; but, in advocating, the chance of success is in removing it into the Indian Administration. The Colonial Office and Parliamentary grants are more unstable than water. . . . I shall be glad when Term is over for your sake and my own. Dear friend, you have been hard worked, and I have been *exigeant.*"

"*November 29th.*—It was not you I was thinking about, for you are always tender and considerate. I made the religion, laws, and customs of the people the basis of all my propositions, and I do not think this or the other objections would apply to a Protectorate. However, we shall see. I have quite made up my mind to a negative. The future is serious—suspense kills, not certainty of ill. Brooke might struggle on were he not burdened with me, and if his pecuniary position were more assured by the payment of the debt. What is best for Saráwak? that is the question. The Company [Borneo] should not precipitate matters. There is a Dutch Borneo Company forming! Your directors should read the early struggles of the East India Company—of all men and bodies in a new country. I continue pretty well, mending in body, but my poor mind is harassed, and I do not sleep so well as I did. I want Knox, Fairbairn, and yourself to come down for the day, after the decision. We will sing or sigh—advise, at any rate. If you disapprove my letter to

Lord Derby, keep it, write another, and send me down. I think it will do, and I promised Fairbairn to send it in time."

To Mr. Fairbairn:—

"*November 25th.*—Any solution which promises security and happiness for Saráwak will be pleasing to me, but these we must have; and other interests are secondary in my sight. The freedom, the self-progress, the happiness of this people so dear to me, and in which I have been educating them for twenty years, seem never to come into English minds. The English certainly are an arrogant nation; they are so *cockey!* 'Niggers are but dirt!' But they are God's dirt, and for the life of me I could never discover that the Malays were otherwise than a fine, manly, sensitive, fiery race.

"Come and see me again, and bring Knox when the battle has been won or lost. Did you see in the *Globe* a statement that the English Government had given an assurance to the Netherlands that Great Britain would not interfere in Borneo? This may have been done by the Whigs before they went out, and it tallies with the Dutch assertions."

The result of the interview with Lord Derby alluded to was anxiously awaited by the Raja's friends, and not alone because they knew how cruelly the excitement of suspense tried him; another reason appears in a letter from Mr. Templer to Mr. Fairbairn. Mr. Templer has been saying, with reference to the assertion in the *Globe*, that he thinks it expressed rather the wish than the fact—

"There is nothing for it but to push the thing home, and if Lord Derby refuses, the next best step for the dear Raja will be perplexing enough. I cannot, as an Englishman, aid him to pass it (Saráwak) away to France or Holland. I should never feel comfortable afterwards, and really do not feel the interest in the natives that he naturally enough does. I should rather advise him to 'hang on by his eyelids,' as the Captain and his men best may, for better times. At all events the Raja may see his way to hand it over, but I cannot, and shall be staunch in my refusal when the time comes.

"The question as to the Protectorate or Crown Colony is

also embarrassing. The Raja still hangs to the former, from the difficulties known to him as to the latter. I cannot see them to the same extent: a Protectorate without his hand at the helm is but postponing the evil."

The letter from the Raja to Lord Derby, already alluded to, is dated November 27. It opens with mention of the approaching deputation as expressing the sense of an influential portion of the mercantile community, and as giving the Raja a reason for asking a final decision on the question of Saráwak, and continues—

"If my voice can influence this decision I would implore her Majesty's Government not to abandon a people who have relied on the faith of the nation, and on the encouragement and sanctions given to their Government.

"The right of England is undoubted, her immediate interests are involved, and her future position and prospects in the Eastern Seas may be secured by a slight effort, which shall combine the prosperity and progress of Saráwak with the advantages frequently pointed out, as well as the higher consideration of national consistency and honour. On the one hand nothing will be risked, and much may be gained; on the other much must be risked, and much may be lost. The decision rests with her Majesty's Government.—I have, etc."

The deputation was composed of gentlemen representing Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, and, to some extent, London, with several members of Parliament. The *Times* of December 1st speaks of Lord Derby having been waited on by deputies from "some three hundred firms, the most eminent and the most opulent in this island." The stated object had reference "to the propriety of retaining the State of Saráwak under the protection of the English Government." Mr. Crawford, M.P., in introducing the deputation, referred briefly to the encouragement Sir James Brooke had received from former Governments; then spoke of his feeling that as at present circumstanced it would not be possible for him to carry on the Government of Saráwak as an independent State,

that, failing England, he must accept foreign offers; then, arguing the matter on wider grounds, he "ventured to ask his lordship seriously to consider on the part of the Government the proposals which the deputation now made. They asked, in the first instance, either to take the State of Saráwak under British protection—that is, formally, to say to the world that Saráwak is under the protection of the British Crown, who will resent any attack made upon it; or else, if that view should for any reason not be an agreeable view to the Government, that they would be prepared to take a cession of the rights to the Crown. Sir James Brooke's views were directed towards a Protectorate; he was in that condition of health which would render it extremely doubtful whether he would ever be able to return to Saráwak. He had a nephew now in charge of his Government who was perfectly competent to discharge its duties with credit to himself, and with the same amount of satisfaction which Sir James Brooke himself had given.

"As to the power the British Government had of adopting Saráwak, that question was set at rest by the decided view that was taken by Lord Aberdeen at the time that correspondence was passing between himself and the Dutch Minister. They conceived that the questions as to the position of the Dutch and English interests were thoroughly considered at the time. The Dutch then stated the utmost of their demands, and those demands were unequivocally set aside by the English Government, and they were of opinion that the view which Lord Aberdeen then took was not only a right view, but entirely consistent with the policy and interests of this country."

Mr. Turner called attention to a statement made by foreign journals that the British Government had decided not to encourage Sir James Brooke. The mercantile community of Liverpool "were unanimously of opinion that it was of vital consequence to their trade that Saráwak should be maintained under the protection of Great Britain." By its position it would almost fix the command of the China trade to those who held it. All the merchants connected with the

East India trade, and those best acquainted with the country, believed that the retention in some way or other by her Majesty's Government was necessary, so as to secure the freedom of trade at Saráwak.

Mr. Thomas Fairbairn said that a petition, signed by between eighty and ninety of the leading firms of Manchester, had been already presented to the Government, praying that, for reasons stated, some arrangement might be made with Sir James Brooke. He described Saráwak as it had been and as it was, and spoke of the steady increase of its trade.

After a few questions, Lord Goderich spoke, and then Lord Derby replied. "What had fallen from Lord Goderich had strengthened the view he had always taken of the extreme inconvenience, to say the very least of it, of such undertakings as Sir James Brooke's. He wished to speak of him with the highest respect. He was a man of great energy and influence, and there was not the least doubt that to his personal influence and efforts the improvement was owing in the district of Saráwak; but what had fallen from Lord Goderich to the effect that it was impossible that the British Government could allow British subjects who have invested their capital on the faith of what had been already done, and to a certain extent sanctioned, to remain unprotected, was a very strong argument against the extreme inconvenience of sanctioning such undertakings. Sir James Brooke, a mere private individual, and upon his own responsibility, without consultation or authorization from the Government, entered into a treaty or arrangement, or whatever they pleased to call it, into the terms of which we need not inquire too closely, by which Saráwak was made over to him subject to the Sultan of Borneo. He exercised very considerable influence in the country, and no doubt effected considerable improvement; but if every English subject were to be allowed to settle in any district he might think fit, and afterwards to call upon the Government as a matter of right to give him military and civil protection, and to secure him from the consequence of conduct which was not in the slightest degree anticipated by

the Government, it must lead the Government into endless difficulties and expenditure." Lord Derby went on to say that he thought the negotiation between Lord Aberdeen and the Dutch Government, together with the treaty with the Sultan of Borneo, "did away with all apprehension of any exclusive jurisdiction being exercised by Holland." That he "very greatly doubted Sir James Brooke's power to make over—certainly not to the Dutch—but to make over to the British Government an absolute, entire, and unconditional sovereignty of that territory which he had been permitted to govern. Moreover, the question was one of very great difficulty and doubt whether, apart from the personal influence of Sir James Brooke, Saráwak was of the importance which the gentlemen present seemed to attribute to it, and of course that very much shook his opinion on the subject. Hitherto it had not been a thriving Settlement. Under the present circumstances it seemed to him very doubtful whether it was one which it would be for the interest of the Government to take into their hands, multiplying and increasing the colonial dependencies of the country, which were already too numerous; every fresh addition to which added fresh expenditure, not only the expenditure of the local Government, but the consequent increase of the military and naval forces to protect them. So that he looked with very great jealousy to increasing the number of our dependencies or new settlements. They were not additions of strength but weaknesses, and all these considerations had been very carefully inquired into by the Queen's Government. The various propositions put before them by Sir James Brooke appeared to them to involve a choice of difficulty, inconvenience, and embarrassment. The least objectionable would be the absolute surrender of Saráwak to the British Crown as a colonial possession; but then there must be taken into consideration whether it were worth the price. Although Sir James Brooke by his personal influence had been enabled to improve the Settlement and keep up good relations with the native tribes, it did not follow that the same consequences would ensue if

the Settlement were made over to the British Crown. And all experience showed them, and Sir James Brooke would be the first to admit it himself, although he has been able to make the revenue—about £15,000 a year—pay for the Government, that if it were handed over to the British Government twice this sum would not maintain it. If they pressed him (Lord Derby) for an immediate answer, the Government would take into consideration any suggestions that came from gentlemen of experience and knowledge such as themselves; but he must say his own opinion and that of his colleagues had been, and was up to that moment, adverse to the adoption of any propositions which had been made to them by Sir James Brooke. He would not say that decision had been taken finally, but certainly at the present moment he was not in a condition to say that the Government were prepared to accept any of those propositions, nor did he think it likely any would be accepted.

"With regard to Sir James Brooke, he did not conceive he had a claim upon the Government in respect of what he had done for his own purposes and objects; his was a half-political and half-commercial speculation. He (Lord Derby) did not think he had a claim upon the country in consequence of the steps he had taken. It must be a matter of pure balance of the advantages or disadvantages of taking or not taking this as a Settlement, even supposing, under the terms of his engagement, Sir James Brooke has the power, without the consent of the Sultan of Borneo, to make over a sovereignty which he did not, he thought, at the present moment possess. It was manifest unless he had entire authority to hand it over, it was not in the power of the Crown to accept a feudal tenure, and he believed Sir James Brooke had nothing more than a description of feudal tenure."

The *Times*, in a leader commenting on the above, remarked regarding the inconvenience of sanctioning such a precedent as that set by Sir James Brooke, "let future generations wait until an offer similar in character to the present is made to them, and then those who feel the incon-

venience of the precedent may complain of it;" that the title might be investigated; that Lord Derby had refused to discuss the commercial points brought under his consideration; and with reference to the objection of the Government to territorial extension, "whenever the moment arrives that this is a really wise decision Lord Macaulay's New Zealander may prepare for action."

Another omission may be added. Lord Derby did not face the possible injury to England if Saráwak, forced against her will into foreign alliance, should bind herself to a nation that might in the future be hostile to ourselves. Few will differ from him as to the impolicy of Government being bound to extend its territory or its influence by any unauthorised action of its subjects. Whether to do so or not consequent on Sir James Brooke's career in Borneo, was the question before previous Administrations, and these had deemed it best for the public interest, not to speak of humanity, to take advantage of his success. Why this policy was reversed, and the north-west coast of Borneo left, so far as the British Government was concerned, to fall back into bloodshed and anarchy, remains unexplained. From the Raja the Premier's reply to the deputation drew the following letter:—

"*Godstone, December 4th.*—My Lord,—In the *Times* newspaper of the 1st instant I read the report of a conversation between your lordship and the gentlemen who formed a deputation to state their opinions on the subject of Saráwak.

"I am unwilling to re-discuss any question, whether of a political or personal nature, but I must courteously and firmly express my dissent from the views of your lordship, whether in relation to the rights of the people and Government of Saráwak, my own position in the country, or the acts of previous Governments of England.

"I must request your lordship to remember that the people of Saráwak have rights distinct from and independent of my position as ruler of the country *de jure* and *de facto* for fifteen years.

"The practical question is alone worthy of consideration.

"The Sultan of Borneo has not power to protect or restrain his subjects. He cannot enforce obedience, even in the city where he resides, and its vicinity is ravaged and depopulated, year after year, by the wild tribes of the interior. The Government of Borneo in practice is anarchy.

"The Government of Saráwak has unassisted for seven years past maintained order.

"During these seven years, the British Government has entirely abandoned the native interests on the north-west coast of Borneo, and, upon the interruption of political intercourse with Saráwak in 1853, conveyed to the chiefs the assurance that they had neither the wish nor the intention to interfere with the affairs of the country.

"In consequence of the measures of the British Government, Saráwak was placed in an unfortunate position of uncertainty; and, after a lapse of five years, it was resolved to seek aid consistent with the religion, laws, and customs of the people, and calculated to secure the permanency and stability which lie at the root of prosperity and progress.

"The various propositions to effect these objects on the bases mentioned are before the British Government for their decision, and were made by me on the part of Saráwak in the hope of conferring a benefit on both countries. I have, etc."

Crossing this letter in the post came one from Colonel Talbot, Secretary to Lord Derby, apologizing for not having before acknowledged the earlier communication. "You will have seen from the public prints that his lordship could not find it compatible with his sense of public duty to adopt the course recommended by you with reference to Saráwak. He would, however, be very sorry that the incomplete reports of what occurred when he received the deputation on this subject three days ago, should leave you under the impression that he does not fully appreciate your merits, as well as the motives by which you have been actuated in these transactions, and that he had not so expressed himself at the time to the deputation."

To this the Raja replied, "I am happy to receive the

assurance that Lord Derby appreciates the motives by which I have been actuated, and I am equally happy to express my sense of the motives which have actuated his lordship in the performance of his public duty. The decision I regret, but I have discharged my duty in eliciting and recording it."

The advisability of bringing the question before Parliament was now discussed. The Raja himself seems to have been almost passive, only insisting that if appeal were made it should be solely on English grounds.

"Saráwak," he writes (December 4th), to Mr. Templer, "is not *driven* to any measure excepting on mature deliberation. I, on the part of Saráwak, will never consent to submit her rights or my title to the judgment of the House of Commons, or any other tribunal. Force may do wrong, but we will not make England the judge of rights which belong to every free people, and which may become the subject of friendly discussion for definite objects, but not of hostile judgment.

"On my own part I desire only to die, or to live in quiet. I have resigned my Raj to my successor. I only act to settle this question. God shall judge the wrong I have received. I will not appeal to man nor submit to man's judgment.

"Saráwak is in no danger except ultimately from Holland. The good resulting from the deputation is that any action on her part, even supposing she contemplated it sooner than my death, will be checked. Here the matter rests. Sufficient for the life is the end thereof. Whether in good or ill fortune, I hope to return to Saráwak to enforce the lessons I have taught of freedom and self-government. And do not ever run away with the idea that Saráwak is at the disposal of England on any other terms excepting by stringent guarantee of her religion, laws and customs."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1858—1860.

Raja Brooke had need of all his patience and power of suffering as the year 1858 closed.

That the Chinese insurrection might cause the Borneo Company—so recently established, and therefore without past experience of the feasibility of their undertaking—to withdraw, he had at once foreseen, and in his first letter to Mr. Templer after the rising, part of which has been given, he touched on its possibility, and concluded a statement of reasons for perseverance with the words—"If, spite of all this, the Company desert me at this crisis, permit a panic to overrule its better judgment, I will still trust to God, still do what is to be done, and if I survive and fail, I shall trust to the sympathy of my friends to afford me sufficient to sustain life during the few years left me on earth."

It appeared now as if this time were come. All the mineral wealth of the country, except gold, was leased to the Borneo Company, on payment of certain royalties to the Government. The minerals were there in abundance, but the labour question, always in such undertakings liable to be a source of difficulty, became increasingly embarrassing from the dispersion of the Chinese. Fresh Chinese emigrants began shortly to arrive, but it was not likely that they would come in adequate numbers until the indignant feeling against them in the country had died away.

When the Raja left for England in October, 1857, the

Company had determined to persevere, and his relief of mind on hearing from Mr. Templer of this decision is marked in his letters. But after his departure difficulties increased, and some of the directors grew more desponding than hopeful, and more inclined to counsel the abandonment of the enterprise without risking further loss.

During the whole of 1858 this contingency had been before the Raja, and, turn which way he would, he seemed surrounded by shifting quicksands. The withdrawal of the Company meant, if not the financial ruin of Saráwak, very little less, for under such circumstances fresh capital could hardly be attracted. Rightly or wrongly, the directors attributed their difficulties to the weakness of the Saráwak Government; and the Raja's attack of serious illness, followed by Lord Derby's reply to the deputation, which cut off all hope of support from England, naturally increased the want of confidence.

The critical nature of affairs was known but to a few, and perhaps understood in full significance only by the Raja. But to the friends who stood closest to him it was no secret that he had come home in poverty, and while he lay helpless at Northwood, many thoughts had entered Mr. Fairbairn's mind. He who had "given all and received nothing" was under his roof, come, it might be, to die, any way to be crippled for life, and to undertake active work again only at the risk of death. His own means were expended, and, with increasing years and shattered health, he had nothing to look to but what could be spared by a country that owed all to him, but which was not yet rich enough even to afford the small steamer necessary for its very existence, while fresh distress seemed impending. Under these circumstances, it appeared to Mr. Fairbairn that there were probably others who, like himself, felt unable to stand calmly by and watch a close so mournful; and from this time he became the chief mover in raising a testimonial, which, to use his own words, was "meant from the beginning, and so treated throughout, as a simple, earnest, and affectionate testimony

of friends to a noble character and disinterested services: services which, instead of enriching, had left their author broken by illness and threatening poverty."

There was a strong wish among all who took part in this matter, that it should be kept private—a course which necessarily confined the action of the committee formed; and in the middle of December, Mr. Templer wrote to the Raja expressing his fear that the attempt must be considered a failure, and also telling him that the long-threatened break-up of the Borneo Company was imminent.

The China mail had brought the usual tidings from Saráwak of stagnation from want of labour, and two of the directors stated in consequence their intention of withdrawing their capital. The remainder, feeling the seriousness of the crisis, but unwilling to look on the undertaking as hopeless, thereupon drew up a rough outline of a plan by which new capital might be brought in, and the difficulty tided over. A new company, to be called the Saráwak Company, should work under the wing of the old one, buy from the Raja his "rights under the Sultan," put a steamer on the coast, and if, or when, Sir James Brooke's health forced him to retire, take the government into its own hands, and appoint its own governor. This proposed governor does not appear to have been named, but as Captain Brooke's resignation was suggested as advisable, it is evident that the choice would not have fallen on him.

The Raja's reply is dated Godstone, December 17th. He was still so feeble as not to trust himself to open his Saráwak letters until they had been glanced through by another; and he now begins by a request that Mr. Templer will do so, and let him know the contents. He then continues—

"From your letter I gather that the testimonial proposed is a failure, and that the Company will retire. This is as I expected. The Company, to avoid loss, should be cautious in retiring, and do it gradually.

"Suppose, then, the proposed Company was formed, capital £100,000—so far so good. You speak of my rights

and Captain Brooke's position. Brooke's position and my own are identical, and they cannot be considered separately. The Government of Saráwak has been established for sixteen years: the system works well, the laws are defined and in operation, and Brooke has been the ruler and has the confidence of the people. Practically, the system has succeeded. No comparison should be drawn between Brooke and myself, but between him and any other who could rule the country with his sense, temper, and experience. Brooke's retirement would entail the retirement of his brother and C. Grant, and all would be confusion. Looking, then, from the lowest point of view, no folly could exceed the folly of disturbing the existing order of things and acquiring rights which would be practical wrongs. But, in the higher view, there must be no question of the rights of the people. Secondly, Brooke's rights have to be considered. My active life is passed. I have merely sought a Government to stand in the pecuniary position in which I stand. A company might do so, though I do not see how in a mercantile point it would be advantageous.

"Brooke is the Raja of Saráwak, and my love and confidence in him are so entire that I would never do anything to hurt his feelings, much more to injure his rights of succession or inheritance. I am nothing, but, if the worse comes to the worst, I will join Brooke in Saráwak; and whilst we live we shall be independent.

"Our revenue will not be decreased, and will probably be increased. If we have no European development, we shall have a native one, and—

> 'In native swords and native ranks
> Our only hope of freedom dwells.'

"I can only answer what I suppose you mean by 'my rights, Brooke's position and its difficulty,' etc., etc. How do you imagine Saráwak is to be secured to England by the overthrow of the existing system, and a change of Government which would strike at the root of native confidence? However, I may have mistaken your meaning.

"Believe me, dear friend, though I shrink from a prolonged struggle, though I would fain be released, yet the weakness of the body will never triumph over the sense of what I owe to the people and to Brooke. I don't mean duty, dry duty—but with me it is an overflowing cup of love. I am nothing but your poor friend and most affectionate J. Brooke."

In addition to these troubles, another sprung up just at this time. A medical man engaged by Captain Brooke during his stay in England in 1856, came back from Saráwak. Captain Brooke, he said, had broken the agreement then made, and he had therefore returned, but he claimed three years' salary, and was prepared to enforce his claim by law. The Raja's letters on this subject to Mr. Templer are marked by a calm reasoning and power of understanding both parties. In one he says that he cannot go thoroughly into the matter, and that its worry prevents his sleeping at night; but he does go into it, and with an evidently earnest desire to do justice to both sides, only he will not "do justice to one party at the expense of the other." "It is indispensable that Brooke should make his own statement and produce his evidence." The negotiations had in the first place been made through Mr. Templer, and in Mr. Templer's judgment Captain Brooke had broken the engagement. This opinion is told to his nephew by the Raja in the gentlest way, and with circumstances that palliated it gathered up and given their fullest force; while to Mrs. Templer, who took an interest in the matter, he wrote, "I would gage my life—not that, for it is not worth very much—my honour, I mean, that Brooke was not unkind to any friends or connections of your dear husband."

In his sixth letter to Mr. Templer on the subject, when the money that he sees must inevitably be paid is in his mind, and the difficulty of finding it appears insuperable, there comes the only sign of impatience. He is weary of a quarrel that is "destroying" him. He does not know how the payment can be made—he will do what he can, and Captain

Brooke must raise the rest in Saráwak. Where the money for his own return to that country is to come from is doubtful, but "I have private reversionary means I can apply to this, for my passion still is not to burden Brooke."

"Did you ever," he winds up with, "read 'Vathek'? I am in the position of the poor fellows in the Hall of Eblis, dead in the flesh, but with feeling and a heart of fire in their breasts. The struggle of reason against passion is cruel, and suspense is a torment which Eblis does not apply. I am sure I am in the hands of friends who will not cling to a feeble support."

The last sentence refers to the testimonial. This letter is dated December 15th, and was immediately followed by the one from Mr. Templer already alluded to, which told him the testimonial and the Borneo Company were failing together. It is well to note the circumstance under which his reply of December 17th, above quoted, was written.

The Borneo Company persevered * and has long since reaped the benefit of so doing; and Saráwak in her present comparative strength may not remember the perils of her youth; but the pressure of anxiety and doubt that rested on her founder as the year 1858 closed was overwhelming.

In January, 1859, an intimation was made by Lord Malmesbury that the subject of a Protectorate for Saráwak was "under the consideration of her Majesty's Government."

"The change of Government intention," the Raja writes to Mr. Fairbairn, "was after this fashion. Lord Derby's decision occasioned a difference in the Cabinet, and the question was referred to the Admiralty to report on. Sir John Pakington placed it in the hands of Captain Washington, the Hydro-

* "The Borneo Company has held fast and stuck to its work through the perils and dangers, the prosperity and adversity, which Saráwak has experienced. It has shown a solid and a stolid example to other traders, and formed a basis for mercantile operations. I do not attempt to deny or conceal the fact that the importance of the presence in a new State of such a large and influential body cannot be overrated."—*Speech of his Highness the Raja Charles Brooke in* 1872.

grapher-General, and after taking the opinions of the officers of the navy locally cognizant, he has drawn up an able document recommending the protection of Saráwak and the suppression of piracy. When we trust to the weathercock to guide our actions, we ought to trust likewise to the British Government, but not till then. We will accept a Protectorate with a guarantee for the rights of the people of Saráwak; short of that we are better without it."

The weathercock simile was not inappropriate. The Conservative Government, defeated on their Reform Bill, dissolved Parliament in April, and three days after the reassembling in June resigned office in consequence of a vote of "no confidence." Lord Palmerston then succeeded Lord Derby as Premier, and Lord John Russell Lord Malmesbury in the Foreign Office.

In February tidings came from Saráwak that Captain Brooke's young wife had died after the birth of her second child, a boy who was named Hope. Leaving his children in friendly hands, their father came home, reaching England almost as soon as the letter telling of his loss. The Raja alludes to this event in a letter to Mrs. Templer, written from Lackington. "The moan is made and over—the sun shines as though the earth contained no tomb. A bright existence has been blotted out; sorrow and bereavement, a desolate hearth and home, remain to poor Brooke. But he will recover, for his high duties must be performed, and time will do the rest. Injustice is a greater evil and harder to bear and forget than death. Our error is in regarding death as something extraordinary when it comes near ourselves, whereas it is as natural as life or sleep. I have been harassed by this news." "Time is our consoler," he adds in another letter, "but he brings new griefs as he heals old ones."

Through March he was at Dawlish, where his state of body and mind are best described to Mr. Fairbairn—

"*March 9th.*—I am certainly improving by abstinence from work and mental excitement; but then, it is but a

negative recovery, for I cannot have either my old health or vigour, or, what is worse, my old heart. However, I am grateful for the amendment, as it will enable me to enjoy retirement, or to labour in my vocation for the good of Saráwak, should the means for the former be wanting. The former I should prefer could the arrangement be made to place Saráwak in a recognized position, or even enable me to live in peace without being a burden to her; but if it is to be otherwise, I have, the more I have thought of it, become more convinced that the worst folly would be to leave Saráwak as she at present stands. I have tried, spite of constant opposition, to develop the resources of the country and to advance British interests by an enlarged and liberal policy. Verily, I have had my reward, and on two occasions of emergency have been deserted. All promises, all previous acts, all recognitions go for nothing, and the conviction has been forced upon my mind that it would be unwise and unsafe to trust the British Government, excepting they give public assurance and unequivocal guarantee for their future sincerity.

"Should I, then, be forced onward to the measures I hold to be right, the first step will be to separate publicly and boldly from my own country, and to rid Saráwak of every British interest involved in it, which at such a crisis will not be difficult. The next step will be an honourable foreign protection, or destroying as much as possible the European element in the Government, and making it native—promoting native views, native interests, and native wishes, and discouraging the interests and interference of Europeans. I think I can see my way clearly. It would not be an enlarged or enduring policy, but it would make the people happy, and would last for a generation or two. It would be at the cost of ambition and advancement, but whilst it lasted there would be a perfect accord between the people and their European ruler.

"My creed, the conviction of experience, now is—that the greatest evil which can befall a poor people is the position of

doubt in which it has been the pleasure of the British Government to place and to keep Saráwak, and that this must be ended, even by a sacrifice of mere material prosperity, before anything can be done.

"I won't tire you any more with my lucubrations.

"The first two months I lived here quietly and indolently; now I am growing restless because, so far as I know, nothing is doing and nothing done. I have a twelve-hermit power when my mind is free from care, but directly I suspect that my ease only results from my head being in a bog, I want to be at work, and to get back to Saráwak with the assurance that I need never look to England again. Brooke, my nephew, is in England; I hope you will meet him after he has rallied somewhat from his bereavement."

"*Lackington, April 20th.*—My mind is at rest and my body reposing. I will not thank you for all the trouble you have taken and are taking. It is, however, never forgotten. At present I am very full of philosophy, reading Mill's Essay on Liberty, and not inclined to descend to the consideration of ordinary subjects. Nor, indeed, do I wish to think much upon any subject to disturb me—a philosopher at one end and a worm at the other, with the proper amount of indifference as to whether fishes or men bite or not, is my ambition. Please inform Mrs. Fairbairn with my kind remembrances."

Philosophic indifference as to the foreign policy of Great Britain, whether as regarded Saráwak or other countries, might be his ambition but was not his practice. The neutrality of England during the struggle in Italy was a grief to him. There are two letters, written in July, bearing on it—the first to Mr. Templer:—

"England must get into a glass-case or band-box, and see whether peace and money can compensate for lukewarmness to great principles, for which every man, as well as every nation, should be ready to shed his blood, devote his wealth, and strive to win by the sweat of his brow and the struggle of his brain. Mark me, dear Jack—*No great nation ever stood*

in a neutral position without the loss of respect and influence. We prated about Italy and Italian liberty more than France. Italy despises our selfish neutrality; France triumphs, and justly, in her action, her moderation, and her paramount influence in the land which looked to England before as her best friend and found only a lukewarm adviser; Russia chuckles, Austria is estranged, and Germany generally holds England as a cold and selfish friend.

"I hope our politicians will not cling to the Treaty of Vienna, and make that ancient parchment the god of their idolatry. Neutral indeed! The price of this neutrality will be heavy. Grovelling policy everywhere—shrinking from sustaining principles, shrinking from an angry soldiery, shrinking from doing justice, trampling on the weak, and cowardly to the powerful!

"You will not agree to this, but it is true. England is no lover of justice or principle, and she is expert in evading the one and the other—stretching her facts to her formula, God's truths to the dicta of representative Governments."

To Mr. Fairbairn:—

"I care so little for local politics that I never read Parliamentary debates or anything relating to them. They are but a storm in a milk-pail. The country is prosperous, the people happy, the Constitution always being destroyed, and a great clatter of tongues, which must in due time accomplish the end.

"I read passing events differently from yourself. Louis Napoleon has been through life an astute, ambitious, and practical man, and we must not lightly attribute to him a change of character. But the peace seems to me to establish him as the first man in Europe and the popular monarch of France.

"Italy has long been the canker of Europe. After the Crimean war Sardinia appealed in Congress against Austria. France, with England, countenanced her claims. We cast away the French alliance, and Louis Napoleon turned to

Russia. England declined an interference in Italy. France undertook it. In a six-weeks' campaign Austria has been driven into the corner of Italy. Lombardy has been freed, and become an integral portion of a Constitutional Government. An Italian Confederation will guarantee a rational degree of freedom and civil rights to the people of the other States. The old system is at an end. Italy may hope, and the want of complete success on the part of France is in her favour.

"For France the result will be a dominant influence in Italy, a friendly neighbour on her boundary, the destruction of the Treaty of 1815, and a cordial alliance with Russia and Austria. She has gained all she could gain without a general war, which would have shaken her Russian alliance, and might have isolated her in Europe. The suddenness of the peace has checkmated England and Russia, and there will be no stipulation for disarmament. Here is the practical sagacity which knows how to stop.

"The position of England I look upon as inglorious. Neutrality in nations is called selfishness in men. The affairs of Europe can be managed without England. It may be fortunate, and she may enjoy her solitary prosperity. But she must not talk longer of being the greatest member of the greatest community of nations.

"Here is a chapter begotten of leisure and a deep interest in the fate of Italy!

"I certainly am better and improving so much that there is hope, or fear, of my dragging on for some years. I can manage very well so long as I have quiet and contentment, and the latter can only be purchased by a studied forgetfulness of the past. I must go back to Saráwak in the spring, or the spring following, and after that my mission will have been accomplished. Brooke and myself are in accord on the future policy of Saráwak. I conceded to his views for the maintenance of independence, real *bonâ fide* independence; no half measures and no truckling. So the British Government will have to determine whether to recognize Saráwak, or let

Saráwak separate her interests and reserve the advantages she has to bestow for the countries who shall prove more friendly."

The pressure of pecuniary embarrassment was greatly lightened in the course of this year, partly by a friendly loan free of interest, and to be returned only when Saráwak was richer, which enabled the Raja to repay the sum borrowed in consequence of the Chinese insurrection; partly by the testimonial. The committee, in consequence of their non-success, made a public appeal; and though the result was never equal to what was hoped and anticipated, yet the sum realized was a substantial good.* The Raja's generous ways, love of giving princely presents, and passion for making all around him happy, were well known, and he was told that the money would be placed in trust, the interest to be his for life, and the capital at his testamentary disposal. This arrangement was not yielded to without a struggle. To Mr. Fairbairn he wrote, May 6th—

"Freely given, I should freely receive it; but a restriction such as this would destroy my sense of independence and free agency. I should probably take every precaution which could be taken for me, and I should be obliged to my friends for investing the money after being generally acquainted with my wishes, but this would be very different from their becoming trustees."

It required the united influence of Mr. Templer, Mr. Knox, and Mr. Fairbairn to induce him to yield, but he did yield, and wrote (May 13th) to the last-named—

"Believe me, I put the most entire confidence in Templer, Knox, and yourself; and as you seem agreed that there is nothing of distrust implied in this condition, I say—so let it be, and no other trustees could I have [than these three]. *I trust* you in the matter; and, indeed, we are agreed in the

* The Committee hoped to raise £20,000, and so to make the Raja independent of the Saráwak revenue, and to allow of his resignation. The amount realized was £8,800.

thing itself, and differ only as to the mode. Had the fund been placed at my disposal, and had I chosen you, I should have liked it better; but as you understood it was to be as you propose, and have pledged yourselves to it, I would not compromise you, and by so doing re-involve myself in a sea of troubles, political and domestic, from a scruple on a point which my friends assure me is in no way derogatory. In short, plainly spoken, I yield my views to yours, pride to necessity. I am not a speculative man, and my intentions were well defined as to regulating this fund. My idea was to place the greater part of the money beyond my own reach by deed of gift to those I intend to inherit it, a moderate sum to be kept free to invest when opportunity offered in a *pied-à-terre* in Sardinia, or Tasmania, or elsewhere, in a warm but not tropical climate. I shall never settle in any spot without proprietary rights, or be happy with a leasehold of 999 years. I mention this intention, because it seems to me somewhat better than the plan you propose, in so far as the deed of gift is preferable to a trust which, combined with a right of testamentary disposal, would leave the fund a marketable commodity on which to realize capital. More of this in due season; but at any rate you three bear the onus. Saráwak will have the interest of the money if she really wants it." *

From Dawlish he moved to Torcross, and in June to Totnes; and while there, uncertain as to his future, but feeling keenly the want of a place he could really call home, he heard that the owner of Burrator, an estate of about seventy acres, with a very small house, in the parish of Sheepstor, on the edge of Dartmoor, would be willing to sell. A wild enough place it is, but most beautiful in its wildness. They who know Dartmoor will not need a description of its gray tors, and its dashing streams, its ferns and its foxgloves, its boulders of rock that look like ruins of old minsters, and give shade from sun, shelter from wind, and a sense of companion-

* The intention of a trust was subsequently given up.

ship always—rocks that never look the same for two half-hours together.

That which Dartmoor can be of picturesque beauty, Burrator is. The Raja saw and fell in love with it. There is no other form of words that describes the attraction the place had for him, or the eagerness with which he desired to possess it, and before the summer was over it was his. But there were weeks of delay first, during which he had the trial of feeling himself dependent on the will of others.

"I am so accustomed to act and to decide for myself," he writes, "that it is a hard lesson to learn to permit others to do for me, and it is one I will not repeat however this may end."

He was much better in health now, and writes of having "leapt over a ditch and scrambled over stone walls." The moor air was "the most elastic he had breathed for many a year." "I am up early," he adds, "and was on pony-back for four hours the day before yesterday. If I become lord of Burrator I shall make the boys [Templers] a present of the first real good pony of my own breeding."

Here is a letter to Dr. Rigby, of July 29th—

"I wrote this morning my thanks * to our dear old school-fellows, which I wish to be read to them by you, or in your absence by Longe, at the annual dinner; but before I send it I want to know our motto, which has escaped my memory. *Floreat*—what? Let me know, and likewise when the dinner is to be; for you know my heart always beats pleasantly on occasions of these reunions, and if bodily absent I shall spiritually or mentally be present.

"I have determined to stick up my staff at the foot of Dartmoor, and am in treaty for the purchase of a small property with a house, which is to become my home. Here or in Saráwak, as may be, my bones shall rest, and my few years of life be passed after the turmoil of a troubled life.

'The knights are dust,
Their good swords rust,
Their souls are with the saints we trust.'

* For the new library.

"In the church here (Meavy) are monuments to the Drake family.

"When you *cut it*, worn and weary pilgrim of medicine!! come and settle in this country. There is nothing in England to be compared to it. You are the free denizen of wild country, riding as the bird flies, and with rights of pasture of hundreds of thousands of acres for your herds and ponies. When the purchase is made you must run down and see me."

Delays and difficulties ended at last, the committee decided that they could not do better than fall in with his very reasonable wishes, and with part of the fund at their disposal Burrator was bought.

"In anticipation of it," he wrote to Mrs. Johnson, "I have bought a horse, a gun, and Mappin's electro-plate spoons, etc. I shall take on the young woman who now looks after the family single-handed. The lady of the house no doubt assists, and is said to be an excellent manager. So shall I be, because *I will*."

This is written from London, where, he writes, "Brooke and I are settling very comfortably the future course of Saráwak. We are now quite of a mind on essential points." This cause for satisfaction is again alluded to, in September, to Mrs. Nicholetts. "Brooke left yesterday. It is a great satisfaction that we are quite in accord, and his short stay in England has done much to open his eyes to our real position and the remedy."

That the remedy would ever come from England seemed more and more improbable. A letter to Mr. Templer, of October 10th, says, "Brooke paid me a few days' visit, and at my suggestion he wrote to Lord Palmerston to urge a decision to the formal recognition, on the part of Saráwak. The reply was: 'It has been referred to the Colonial Office'—probably a mistake: too evidently it is the Circumlocution Office and never will get out of itself. I am jolly enough when not anxious about Saráwak, but it is not great events or great trials which kill: our nobler nature resists and spurns them. It is the base wear of petty toil which tells. I rejoice to be

free till the trumpet of danger rouses me to the rescue of Saráwak."

He took possession of Burrator in August, and October 18th wrote to Mr. Fairbairn—

"Here I am writing, as you ask me to do, from my *home*, and able to tell you that I am in health, such as it is, and spirits I do not allow to be depressed—and both certainly better than I expected. I really delight in this place, and I have that sort of feeling which could not belong to any place but home—the feeling of refuge. I go out shooting, and constantly potter, gun in hand, killing or missing a stray rabbit with philosophic indifference. I make small interests, and I am as happy as I could be—as happy as a man whose life and its noble objects have been betrayed could be. I am relieved from sordid cares. I have a proud and joyous consciousness of having done great good to my people, and I am ready should misfortune come upon them to share even to the death. The killing anxieties of position and work beyond my strength are spared me, and this to my temperament and weakly state is everything. This is the bright side of the picture, which certainly predominates. The dark impression of wrong, falsehood, and betrayal, done to a true people—the perfidy and meanness of my own country—the truth and nobility of a despised race—the doubts of their future fate—sometimes come over and tear me like those demons of Scripture. Nothing English, as English and national, can ever claim my respect; but my friends are *my own*, independent of country, of opinion—independent of any tie but affection.

"For the rest, I amuse myself with the tricks of mankind and the importance attached to worthless things; with the contempt of experience for the hypocrisy of religion, freedom, and virtue, which reigns in conventional forms. Yet I acknowledge and I reverence the true-heartedness, the kindness, and the generosity of men in the domestic and social relations. Whatever is public is false, mean, and corrupt. What is private is true, or truer, and kindly. Why is it, then, my dear

Fairbairn, that the virtues of private life cannot penetrate the region of public affairs? Is it that in civilized life the struggle for personal and family advancement is intense enough to vitiate the better feelings, to pervert the mind, and to poison the motives of men?"

Everybody was made welcome to the new home, and in October Mrs. Nicholetts was there with her husband, recently arrived from India. The message to him had been, "I want to see Gilbert, not in a hasty, hurried English way, but at leisure. Let us loll by the side of a stream, under the shade of melancholy boughs, eating sandwiches and drinking ginger-pop!! That's happiness—a fig for all the rest!"

They were to come any day they liked, "for you know where the heart is open the welcome is ready at all times;" but still they had better let him know the exact day, "because I am housekeeper, and must order *nice* little delicacies for my lady."

In November and December the Raja was in his old haunts and with old friends at Bath, going through a course of water, and able to say of himself, "I am strong now, and my nerves are firm as my resolves, and my sleep unbroken by events. Time glides by and life in a quiet round of existence. I only listen lazily to other people's thunder, and Brooke does the work of Saráwak, with my help every now and then. I had a very kind letter from St. John, from Brunéi: everything retrograding there—Labuan defunct, English in contempt, Spaniards advancing. . . . St. John writes as follows: 'When I heard the name of Tuan Brooke mentioned with interest by the Dyaks of the far interior, in spots where even the Malays had never penetrated, I was struck with the vast influence you exercise over the native mind, and regretted the neglect which has prevented your being enabled to turn that influence to still greater good'—a pleasant consciousness to me, broken down and betrayed—imparting the peace of mind which passeth understanding; but, dear Jack, do you believe in national guilt and the retribution awaiting it? The guilt is the same, smother

it as they may with pomp and parade, and the loudest blast of self-deifying trumpets."

Meanwhile in Saráwak the year had been an anxious one. Captain Brooke's unexpected departure, after his wife's death, threw an additional burden on his brother and on the slender staff of European officers. In the early part of the year the state of affairs at Muka had again called for active interference. Makota was dead, "drowned, endeavouring to escape when attacked by some Dyaks rendered desperate by his iniquities. It must do good," the Raja continues, "for a greater villain it would be impossible to conceive, with heart blacker, head more cunning, and passions more unrestrained. I say this deliberately of a dead man."

But Brunéintrigue and extortion did not die with Makota; and Muka, among other hapless rivers, was still the prey of needy pangerans. Matusen did his best, but was overborne by Pangeran Nipa. The trade with Saráwak was at a standstill, and the Saráwak flag being fired on, Mr. Charles Johnson went up from Saráwak. On this occasion Sheriff Messahore met him with many protestations of friendship, while Pangeran Matusen, thin and haggard, welcomed him as his deliverer. Much mischief was prevented without a blow being struck; the pangeran who had fired on the flag was fined, and, still more to the purpose, paid the fine. Matusen departed to Saráwak till better days should dawn; the trade was re-opened, and Pangeran Nipa admonished to let it remain so.

Hardly was this over when a sudden outbreak occurred at Kanowit, and the Residents, Mr. Fox and Mr. Steele, were murdered in cold blood. Their deaths were promptly and amply avenged. The rising was local, but there could be no doubt that intrigue inspired it, and such intrigue was subsequently traced to Sheriff Messahore, albeit he now proffered his assistance in punishing the offenders. The loss of two European officers acquainted with the language and feelings of the people was, from the circumstances of the time, a peculiarly severe one to the Saráwak Government.

In September, Saráwak Proper was full of sinister rumours: a general rising and massacre of the Europeans would, it was asserted, take place, and the most trusty chiefs advised the habitual wearing of firearms; but none seemed to know from what quarter the danger would come. After a time certain of the rumours were traced to old Gaffur, the late Datu Patingi, now, by virtue of his pilgrimage, Datu Hadji. He had returned, and was supposed to be under the surveillance of his relations, but these declining all responsibility he was again banished.

This did not, however, go to the root of the matter. Sheriff Messahore, connected by marriage with Datu Hadji, was plainly bent on mischief, and it seemed evident that he was encouraged from Brunė. Almost immediately after the Hadji's banishment, an impostor, passing himself off as the Tumangong of Brunė, came down the coast. The people were everywhere deceived, and to Matusen he sent a letter ordering him to join at a certain river where he, the Tumangong, would be awaiting the assembly of a force. This letter Matusen brought in a state of alarm to Mr. C. Johnson. A Council of State was called, the matter laid before them, and, in consequence, a force sent out under Mr. Robert Hay. Evading this, the so-called Tumangong passed on into Dutch territory, where his imposture was discovered and he was imprisoned.

But the countries through which he had passed were excited and restless. That the man had been instigated by Sheriff Messahore was generally suspected, and soon information came that the Sheriff himself was approaching Saráwak in no peaceful guise. He was held to be a descendant of the Prophet, and to bear a charmed life; and there were few Mahomedans who would do him bodily harm. But that he was at the bottom of a conspiracy to murder all the Europeans was believed by the Saráwak chiefs, and, writes Mr. Johnson, "by ones and twos they came to me cautiously and secretly, and earnestly breathed their anxieties about this individual, saying, 'Do what you think best for the safety of the country; we are ready to follow you.'"

How far they would follow him it was difficult to foretell, but the risk must be, and was, run. Sheriff Messahore having a message sent him that if he came to Saráwak he would be treated as a public enemy, was met advancing, and obliged to fly from a boat riddled with shot.* When it became known that he had been fired at, the charm that hung round him seemed partly broken, and the people on all sides brought in letters, concealed before from fear. The pretended Tumangong was a Dyak slave, and the links of a deep plot came slowly to light. A pension of three hundred reals for life had been promised to any one who would take Mr. C. Johnson's head.

Sheriff Messahore was followed up, and his house burned; but "knocking down," as Mr. Johnson remarks,† "is easier than building up." "We had been," he continues, "if facts be told plainly, ever since the shake and shudder caused by the Chinese insurrection, followed up as it was by other difficulties, only able to keep our heads on our shoulders, and drag ourselves through the mire by dint of the hardest labour and deepest anxieties; sometimes moving forward after an extra exertion, but to be again nearly overturned before a few steps had been taken. It was the struggle between good and evil, free trade and monopoly; between the new rule and old misrule; between order and anarchy. The people were true, but our means were wasting away in this struggle with the ill-disposed."

We are able now to understand the anxiety that tore the Raja, and to understand better than was then understood how the continued refusal of all countenance from his own country cut him to the heart. All who have had to do with orientals know that *prestige* is a power that cannot be calculated so great is its effect among people influenced like children. By issuing the Commission the British Government struck the severest blow it could legally give at the *prestige*

* An execution kris that had long been an heirloom in his family was found in his boat, and sent to the International Exhibition of 1862, where it was unfortunately lost.

† "Ten Years in Saráwak," by Charles (Johnson) Brooke.

of Sir James Brooke. The degradation—can we call it aught else?—was inflicted publicly, and we look in vain for public acknowledgment of its injustice. It does not appear that the Sultan of Brunéé received any intimation that the charges against the Raja had not been sustained, and, while petty rulers were saluted in British ports, the Raja of Saráwak (unless Admiral Keppel happened to be on the spot) came and went unnoticed.

In March, 1860, utterly despairing of help from England, and seeing his work perishing, as he thought, before his eyes, the Raja asked protection from the Emperor of the French. The consequence was an outcry from many. He speaks for himself in a letter to Mr. Fairbairn:—

"*Burrator, April* 6, 1860.—Truly delighted was I to see your handwriting. Saráwak is ruined; that is all! The immediate danger of massacre is over, but unless strengthened and confidence restored the Government cannot stand. We, *i.e.*, my nephew (Captain Brooke) and myself, have applied to England and Holland for aid, last to France—but that is over too, for political affairs would not warrant me in negotiating further. In a short time I must decide upon going out, or strengthen Brooke's Government so as to let him carry it forward with a prospect of success. Of course there will be a popular outcry, and many will fall away from me; but I am right and performing a duty which my country encouraged me to undertake. They talk of the Memorial being shaky. However, dear Fairbairn, let it be as it may, I have a constant mind, firm in doing what I am bound to do; and the endeavour to save Saráwak is not an injury to England. The strong trample on the weak, and the wolf complains of the lamb down stream stirring up his water. The dog in the manger is another apposite fable."

Happily among his friends there was one who, instead of offering reproaches, quietly placed at his disposal the purchase-money of a small steamer, and in June the Raja went to Glasgow for the purpose of selecting one.

"I have found a suitable steamer," he writes to Mr.

Templar, "and have named her *Rainbow*, the emblem of hope. So soon as I can put her outfit in train I shall come to London, and must have good legal advice upon the position of a man-of-war under Saráwak colours. We have plenty already, but it is best to feel the ground on which we stand with this accession of power."

June 23rd, he writes of trying the new vessel at Glasgow. All being successful, she was sent out to Saráwak in August, and never was rainbow after storm so welcome. Captain Brooke had returned to his post early in the year, reaching Saráwak just after the temporary defeat of Sheriff Messahore. The worst of the troubles seemed over, but the Sarebus tribes were breaking out, the Kayans in disorder, and intrigue, originating in Bruné, prevailing.

No one who knew the Raja would believe that he could keep away from Saráwak when she was in danger. His great desire and his full intention was to leave the Government in Captain Brooke's hands, but the mention in letters of this intention is habitually qualified by "in time of trouble I should be there," or some expression to show that so long as life lasted his connection with Saráwak would also last. In a letter to Mr. Templer, dated Torquay, April 21, 1860, he is explicit on this point. "There is a disposition," he says, "on the part of the British Ministers to support Saráwak *somehow*. Lord Palmerston has had the papers I sent you, and it has exerted a beneficent influence. Brooke therefore will have a fair trial, and if he rules for the good of his people and makes their welfare his first object he may succeed. My heart and my life belong to Saráwak whenever called for, and for this reason I could not say I had 'finally' surrendered Saráwak. 'Permanently' and 'finally' are not words for human affairs more than 'for ever and ever.'"

But he was slow to go out this year, from a reason expressed to Mrs. Johnson, in a letter of May 19th. After telling her his last news, and his cause for hope that the worst was over, he says—

"The only thing, dearest, is that I believe I must go out.

I am sorry for it—not for myself so much, but for Brooke, who would have done better seated in power without my presence. However, he writes that he cannot support me in England, and, as he adds that my presence will be invaluable, I shall go—shortly, I hope, to return."

By a later letter we find he wrote to Captain Brooke to say he would go out if really wanted. "If I come," he says to his nephew Charles, "Saráwak must not drift to ruin. Courage, courage!—let us only love each other, and strive for Saráwak, and Saráwak alone, and all will be well."

As the year went on there could be no doubt of his presence being necessary, and he sailed in November, accompanied by his youngest nephew, Mr. Stuart Johnson; by Mr. William F. B. Paul,* younger son of his old friend Mrs. Paul, who left Eton to accompany the Raja; and by Mr. Spenser St. John. From Malta he wrote to Mrs. Johnson—

"*November 29th.*—We are well, and enjoying the most delicious weather and smooth sea, after a tossing of four days in the Bay. We do nothing except eat, drink, sleep, lounge in the open air, and read a novel, or play chess as a great exertion. We think nothing of the work before us, and this time next year I hope to be starting on my homeward voyage. I certainly benefit by the change so far, but I know the anxiety and exertion of active life would soon destroy me. Peace—peace—peace—is all my feeling and wish."

His special reason for going is detailed in a letter to Mrs. Nicholetts—

"*Aden, December 12th.*—My thoughts are with you, my child, and the time when, three years ago, we were passing this place. Your society was then and afterwards a great solace to me, and I wish, indeed, there was a prospect of our meeting again, whether in Saráwak or in England. I know, however, your happiness and your duty are alike in India.

"My departure at last was sudden, and came about as follows:—One of the principal conspirators to murder all the Europeans, and the actual murderer of Fox and Steele,

* Now Assistant Resident at Perak.

fled to Bruné, and there met Mr. Edwardes, the Governor of Labuan, Acting-Consul-General during the absence of St. John. . . . Mr. Edwardes, having applied for and obtained the steamer *Victoria*, of the Indian navy, went to Muka, where Brooke was carrying on operations against a gang of desperadoes belonging to the conspirator and murderer Sheriff Messahore.

"To make a long story short, he threatened to fire upon the Saráwak force if they did not desist from the attack upon the stockade, which was within the Sultan's territory. Brooke did retire rather than risk a collision with the boats of the steamer, and the case came home for decision. In consequence, St. John returns to his post, authorized to convey to the Saráwak Government the disavowal and disapproval of Mr. Edwardes' proceedings, and the resolve of the British Government to decline all interference between Saráwak and Bruné. What happens afterwards you shall know hereafter, but we have enough to do during the year I am to stay in the East.

"Stuart and Willie Paul accompany me to Saráwak to enter the service. I trust Stuart may like it enough to remain, for he is a good fellow. I left the dear party all well at Lackington. Brooke may run home to be married now; afterwards Charley should have a change."

The public work of this year (1860) has been given first, and we will glance back at the private life. In February the Raja was at Torquay, deeply interested in the then recent discovery of fossil remains in Brixham Cave. He describes these to Mr. Templer, and later, in answer apparently to some doubt expressed, says, "The thigh bone of the fossil man found with the flint knives you may rely on as a *fact*. I was reading an admirable sermon by Myers, preached before the University of Cambridge in 1846, on the like discoveries. Nothing that is true can be opposed to God's truth."

In March he was again at Burrator, growing wise "in the high and mighty matters of manure and crops. For two days I have been hard at work cleaning my trees, and this

gentle scraping keeps me in the open air without too much exercise." This letter, which is to Mrs. Nicholetts, continues—"Tell Gilbert I am reading Baden Powell's book. There is a mass of information, but *the* point did not need such elaboration. I suppose, as he says, it is to show the distinction between 'supernatural *truths*' of the spiritual world, and alleged supernatural events in the material. Without prejudging, I should think he is bound to show what and where is the world of spirits, and the truths belonging thereto. However, any way, it is a great step to have a Churchman writing such a book without fire, faggots, or penalties lay or ecclesiastical."

He did more at Burrator than care for his trees. He became churchwarden—his name as such is on a brass plate in Sheepstor church—and he met the farmers afterwards at their Easter Vestry dinner, held in a small cottage, whose walls were pasted over with newspaper illustrations. His kindly speech afterwards is well remembered in its general purpose, and that he proposed the Queen's health, a thing never before done within the memory of Sheepstor people. The church being almost a ruin, he set himself to raise money to restore it, and whilst at Glasgow, choosing the steamer, sent Mr. Templer a paper on the subject. In a previous letter he had said that he did not take interest in things now. "I enclose you a paper, the object of which you may, perhaps, be able to further. The rate of the whole parish is only £13 10*s.* per annum, and the church will tumble down if we cannot succeed in raising funds. *I do take an interest* in this, for Burrator is the home where I enjoy peace and quiet, and a man is bound to do all the good he can, in a little as in a great sphere. I have chosen a spot for my remains to lie in Sheepstor churchyard. 'It will be so jolly!' and you and Hannah must visit me on a fine day!"

CHAPTER XXIX.

1860—1863.

The interference at Muka of Mr. Edwardes, Governor of Labuan, and at the time Acting-Consul-General in Borneo, occurred in August, 1860, when the Saráwak force, under Captain Brooke, was summarily checked in its pursuit of Sheriff Messahore. Mr. Edwardes' action appears to have sprung from an idea that the rights of the Sultan of Bruné, the ally of Great Britain, were being infringed by British subjects.

That the Sultan, whatever his temporary feeling might be, had empowered Sir James Brooke to interfere in the affairs of Muka; that Sheriff Messahore was the continual disturber of the peace of Saráwak, the instigator of the murder of two Englishmen, and the mainspring of a conspiracy to murder many more, was a side of the question apparently not so obvious to Mr. Edwardes.

On his arrival in the *Victoria* steamer both parties were ordered to cease firing, and Captain Brooke, on his allegiance as a British subject, to withdraw. Under protest, and with an intimation that the matter would be referred home, the Saráwak force retired, followed by boat-loads of the more peaceable inhabitants, who entreated not to be left to Sheriff Messahore's revenge. The remainder continued to fire as before the Governor's order was received, asserting the while that they were ready to fight Saráwak, France, England, or Holland, being quite independent of all these countries.

After this, a new fort was built at Kanowit by the people themselves, and Mr. J. B. Cruickshank took charge of what had become more than ever an important post, for the country around was in a state of excitement and dread. The whole population on the Rejang migrated to Sibuyau, near the mouth of the Batang Lupar, to be nearer Saráwak. Small head-hunting parties ventured out along the coast, the trade between Saráwak and Muka was again stopped and in the Rejang district also almost suspended, while everywhere the names of Sheriff Messahore and the Governor of Labuan were coupled together by all who wished to raise disaffection to the Saráwak rule.

This was the state of affairs that called for the Raja's presence. While detained at Singapore in January, 1861, waiting for the *Rainbow*, he wrote to Mr. Fairbairn—"Our difficulties have been aggravated by England; however, it is not worth the thought, and but an additional link in the chain woven for ten years past. I shall make or mar before I leave the country. This is but a dull letter from a dull person in a dull place. I live most quietly and contentedly, with an *internal storm*, invisible as magnetic agency, going on. I see my way, however, clearly, and judge matters on the spot better than at a distance."

The *Rainbow* arrived on February 6th, and on the 13th the Raja was at Kuching, writing his plan of operations to his nephew Charles:—

"It will require some time for me to pick up the different links of business and association, but I understand the Muka affair, and the trade must be opened. I have written to St. John, to say I will be with him (at Bruné) next month, and limit my negotiation to the single question—Does Bruné support Sheriff Messahore at Muka? If the reply be a negative, then they will order him with his followers to Bruné, and declare him a traitor in case of disobedience. Other matters may be discussed in a friendly spirit afterwards, but we must have free trade guaranteed by a good Government. St. John has written to the *Council* of Saráwak, that the

British Government totally disapprove of Mr. Edwardes' acts. Stuart will be well with you when he knows a little of the language. Put responsibility on him, and teach him to be gentle and to sympathise with the inhabitants. Write me about all that is going on. We must take Sadok this year."

On 5th May he wrote to detail his negotiations at Bruné:

"The Sultan and Wuzeers received me warmly, and the good understanding between the countries was re-established by their addressing a chop to Dipa, Kahar, and all the people at Muka. I send a copy of this letter for your information, to be made known to all your people, as having legitimacy as well as right upon our side will produce a good effect. The Sultan was anxious to place Muka and the intermediate places under my rule, but I waived the consideration until hostilities were over. I am then to go again to Bruné for the purpose.

"The Sultan sent Hadji Abdulraman as his Surohan,* and whilst at anchor off Oya, the principal people of the place came off to see me. The chops were read and my views explained. Hadji Abdulraman brought a private letter and message from the Sultan, pressing Dipa not to fight, and Pangeran Kahar's father was urgent with him to the same effect.

"St. John accompanied me, and has now gone on to Singapore, to get a man-of-war, from which to deliver the Titah † of the Bruné rajas, which orders Sheriff Messahore to leave Muka, and they will not have him to the northward at any price. In carrying out this policy I have offered Messahore his life upon condition of banishment to Palembang or Tringanu; and to remove distrust, his brother Sheriff Bajang will go to Muka in a few days to explain matters, and to give Messahore the guarantee of the British Consul-General for the fulfilment of the terms. It will be mercy and wisdom not to attack Muka, and the settlement of the question amicably will be pleasing to Bruné and to England.

"The subsequent measures at Muka shall be 'thorough,' and I wish you would think who we can find to place in the

* Ambassador or authorized agent. † Royal order.

Government. This puzzles me, for success will depend upon a good man being at the head of affairs.* There ought to be considerable property in Sago Forest pertaining to the Government, besides the means of taxation. We will catch our bird before we calculate his value. These proceedings will shake the enemy, and may result in a quiet end; but, though we may have peace, we must act as though war was certain."

To Mr. Fairbairn he wrote, May 28th—

"I am involved in preparations for our campaign against Muka, and you, I know, will have little spare time for anything excepting your gigantic Exhibition, and the heavy responsibility it must entail. You will be in your element amid works of art, samples of science and philosophy; and although I have my own peculiar burdens, it makes me ill, the mere idea of bearing or doing what you have voluntarily undertaken.†

"Our affairs here progress as I intended when I left England. We have made up matters in Brunê, and if our Muka foes fly or fight it will be all the same.

"I am convinced morally, though without actual proof, that the Sultan and his ministers were cognizant of the plot to murder the white men. . . . . Poor fellows! there is good amongst much evil. They and their kingdom are fast going downhill; government there is none—trade is gone—and oppression produces no returns. I could have prevented all this, and provided for the leading men by ruling them with 'a rod of iron and a tongue of oil.' Their real enemies are those who have left them to rule themselves.

"I think about June 8th we shall be starting for Muka. The greater part of our armament has arrived, and the remainder cannot be far off.

"You will be glad to hear our little steamer the *Rainbow* is doing her work right well, and is exactly the craft suited to our work.

"As to what you say about my being Governor of the Straits, I can only wonder at the idea. I ask for bread for

* Mr. Hay was appointed.

† Mr. Fairbairn was a Commissioner for the International Exhibition of 1862.

Saráwak, and I get a stone about my own neck. I live for this people. What are honours, or station, or emoluments to me in a foreign country? The British Government will, I suppose, in its own good time decide the adminstration for the future advantage of its own Settlements. Saráwak remains perfectly quiescent. There is good feeling, a desire to promote any arrangement which shall combine the security of Saráwak with the interests of England, and a resolution to waive every difficulty which may be raised upon the question. But this does not concern me, excepting so far as it concerns the people, their welfare and the maintenance of principles which they appreciate. The evil all along has been from official reserve, and thence official misconstruction of the simplest facts. The British Government, however, will not be troubled again, whether upon past or future grounds. They may act and be sure of a cordial reception. I am out of the British fog, and in the full light of a tropical sun."

There are several letters written at this time to Mr. C. Johnson, too full of local detail to be of general interest. All are more or less marked by foresight, caution and boldness, consideration for officers and men, and hearty appreciation of their work. One contains a special message to Mr. J. B. Cruickshank, son of the *Castle Huntley* surgeon. To distinguish him from Mr. Arthur C. Crookshank, the Raja playfully called him Fitz, and the name was adopted by others.

"I wish you would say publicly to Fitz, or get Brooke to do it, that I give him great credit for his pluck and prudence, whilst on so trying and important a post (Kanowit) during a very critical time. Kanowit is the key of Muka, which cannot do without the supplies derived thence."

A sentence in one letter appears to be in reply to a remonstrance on overworking and over-anxiety.

"You must not imagine I vex myself about these matters, but at this crisis I must assure myself that every precaution is taken, and measures rendered as complete as possible to insure success. I am not as good-tempered a man as I used to be, though I am not less reasonable. I have always been

known as resolute to do what I think right, and I always excite myself to the mark, without which a man can never really act well, or carry his fellow men with him. You 'excite' yourself, my dear Charley, and 'work hard' enough for six horses, so please don't let the kettle call the pot black."

The success of the proceedings at Muka is detailed to Mr. Fairbairn:—

"*July* 10*th*.—You will have heard of the surrender of Muka, and may congratulate me on this bloodless victory, which is as grateful to my feelings as an event can be; for I knew that a large proportion of the people were well inclined towards us, and had their chiefs plunged into resistance it would have been impossible to have separated our friends from our enemies. Our attack would have overwhelmed the place. Our first division consisted of the steamer, three gunboats, and about one hundred and twenty war prahus, averaging forty men each.

"Our second was composed of two hundred war prahus—Malay and Dyak—which cleared our communications, and would afterwards have advanced as required. The presence of the steamer contributed to the surrender, for the first boat which came out, under a frivolous pretence—slyly, as they thought—took her depth in the water, and having convinced themselves of her passage into the river, the next day the chiefs became reasonable and submitted to their fate.

"The chief criminal, Sheriff Messahore, has been banished, but permitted to take away his property.* He will never trouble Saráwak more, and I am not lover enough of bloody justice to begrudge him his life upon this condition. He deserved death, but he was a murderer for political ends,

* Sheriff Messahore is thus alluded to by Mr. W. H. Read, writing from Singapore, January 1, 1876:—"Messahore called upon me the moment he heard of my arrival [here]. He is a fine specimen of a Malay, and must have been a Hercules in his time. Talking past events over, he said, 'Truly I fought against the old Raja, but he beat me, he exiled me; but he was always good and kind to my family and to my old mother. I was wrong, but it is too late now.' told him he was going to be in print. 'Don't say I am a bad man, Tuan,' he said; 'I thought I was right to fight.'"

and had I insisted on the *summum jus*, it would have been at the expense of bloodshed and the destruction of the trade we are anxious to promote.

"The news of the fall of the place created immense rejoicing in Saráwak, and already prahus have cleared outward and inward. I am staying here [Muka] to calm the apprehension of the defeated party, to moderate the triumph of the victors, and to initiate the new order of things.

"The folks here are good folks, but it will need a river of pure water to clear out the Augean stable of abuses. Nobody who is unacquainted with the East, or Far East, can imagine the state of society; but then it speaks well for the peaceful disposition and industry of the inhabitants that they could live and work in the midst of abuses which make us cry or laugh as may be.

"Everybody fines everybody else for offences, real or imaginary, then the strongest party sells the weakest into slavery, and thus eight-tenths of the population have become slaves, though after the event they are little or nothing the worse. Even families and villages have been sold half a dozen times, by different people to different people.

"I can see my way to a better order of things, for which they will be grateful, and the protection of trade will be a great advantage to Saráwak and Singapore.

"I shall return to Saráwak about the 25th instant, and then to Bruné, to enter into some arrangement for the future government of these rivers. Saráwak can manage them; Bruné cannot. We cannot submit to the loss of trade, and injurious confusion and intrigue; but then we ought to provide something for the nominal rulers without injury to the people or to the efficient means of protection.

"For twenty years past, to my knowledge, the Sultan has got no revenue, though the inhabitants have been plundered by a set of rascals who, by their stupid rapacity, always killed the goose which laid the golden eggs.

"The fall of Muka, the relaxation of war expenses, the increased confidence, and the stimulus to trade, will greatly

strengthen the position of Saráwak, and give her time to act deliberately. Certainly, she will await with patience the arrangements of the British Government upon the transfer of the Straits Settlements to the Colonial Department.

"I, however, agree with your views as explained in the strip you sent me. Saráwak, outcast and isolated, cannot stand alone, and it would be a crime to her people to expose them to the evils of anarchy or unconditional surrender to Holland.

"No native State does or can stand alone in this part of the world. The absorption or ruin of Saráwak is merely a question of time, and the evil of foreign protection or rule may be lessened, though it cannot be avoided. A gentle, a fostering, and inexpensive care—trifling but consistent support and encouragement—were all we sought from England. If she finally closes the door, may we not, ought we not, to obtain it from another nation? The fact of being a British subject ought not to affect the decision. It ought to make me careful not to allow English prejudices or associations to blind me to the truth—namely, that Saráwak may be lost without a chance of benefiting England.

"How can a man serve his country against her will? The fault will not be mine whatever may arrive.

"I rejoice that our improved position gives time for deliberate consultation with my friends. There is little of selfish ambition on my part. I have convinced myself of the right course. I do my work, but wearily and heavily compared to old days, when life was young and hope was gay. The greatest earthly boon to me would be freedom from care—a release from the foresight which gives me small power to avert the evil, the shadow of which falls far before.

"I am living in the enemy's fort—a rude block house, nearly one hundred feet long and twenty feet off the ground.

"I look forward to my return. I am not fitted for continued exertion, and always falter after the pressure relaxes. Still I have no complaint to make yet.

"P.S. I continue to pity you!"

The second visit to Bruné took place in August, when 110 miles of coast, making in all about 260, were made over to the Raja by the Sultan, bringing the boundary line of Saráwak territory northwards to Tanjong Kadurong.

Here is a later letter to Mr. Fairbairn :—

"*September* 3, 1861.—I hope to arrive at Southampton about November 20th, the day we parted there last year. I have done all I came out to do—1. Peace with Bruné; 2. The bloodless conquest of Muka; 3. The addition of all the districts in dispute to the rule of Saráwak.

"I leave Saráwak quiet, prosperous, and improving; trade is brisk and men's minds hopeful. You know my fixed conviction that the Government cannot stand alone, and this is not shaken by a gleam of sunshine. There is much still to do, but it is for more vigorous men. I feel that a prolonged stay might finish me, so I retreat whilst I have yet some strength left."

Before quitting the country the Raja discussed with his two elder nephews the future of Saráwak generally, and in particular an overture from the Belgian Government.

Mr. Charles Johnson was opposed to any arrangement that would give a right of interference to a European nation. Of his brother Captain Brooke's view of the general question it is difficult to speak. At times he was in accord with the Raja, and himself planning means to attain their mutual purpose; at other times in disaccord. The first apparent mention of differences of any kind occurs in a letter of January 28, 1859, from Sir James Brooke to Mr. Fairbairn. "The interruptions—few and far between—to my calm existence, have arisen from my being obliged in my correspondence to control the views of my nephew; but this does not affect the prosperity of Saráwak or my confidence in him. When he understands he will be all right."

At the time we now speak of—September, 1861—the limit to negotiations with Belgium was laid down, and, touching

any payment that might be received, the Raja wrote to his nephew on September 5th—

"I have now resolved (for reasons I need not mention) to limit my share of any arrangement for the future Government of Saráwak to an annuity, in part repayment of the sum due to me. Thus the debt owing by the State will be wiped out, and *you may take the compensation for my rights* which you would inherit; the amount of this compensation must continue uncertain, but our characters will be judged by our conduct in this matter. We must endeavour to act for the public good without an undue care of our personal advantage."

Eleven days after every matter had been settled, apparently to the entire satisfaction of Captain Brooke, a note, dated September 16th, reached the Raja from his nephew.

"My dear Raja," it ran, "I shall be very much gratified if you will publicly instal me as Raja Muda * before you quit the country. If you will do so it will not only be a pleasing sign of your confidence in me, but will strengthen my hands in carrying on the Government.—Yours, etc., J. Brooke Brooke."

With no suspicion of future misunderstanding the Raja consented. The chiefs and principal people were assembled in the Court House, and he spoke to them. He was old, he said, and his health was broken; he felt he could not stay with them longer. He had great confidence in his nephew Captain Brooke, and he made over the Government to him. But he himself would come back whenever they wanted him, and if trouble fell upon the country he would certainly return. No official record was taken of this proceeding.†

* According to Malay custom the Raja Muda is the heir-apparent. In case of abdication the Raja Muda becomes Raja, and the out-going Raja becomes Raja Tuah. Tuah means old and Muda young.—Note by Mr. W. H. Read.

† The above account has been supplied from memory by Mr. Arthur Crookshank. After it was in print I received from Mr. W. H. Read a cutting from the Singapore *Free Press* of September 26, 1861, which contains the following:—"Saráwak.—The Saráwak steamer *Rainbow*, Captain Hewat, arrived here on Monday last, having on board Sir James Brooke, K.C.B., who will proceed to Europe by next mail steamer. Before leaving Saráwak Sir James assembled

There was no transfer to the Raja Muda of the deeds of cession by which Saráwak was held. The seal of State continued to bear the inscription "James Brooke, Rajah, Saráwak." The prayers in the churches were for "the Raja of this country, the Raja Muda, and the rest of his family;" and, in the prayer for the Church Militant, "Thy servant James, the Raja of this country."

But about two months later, Captain Brooke expressed his desire to be addressed not as Raja Muda but as Raja.

Meanwhile the Raja was on his way to England, and from Galle wrote back to his nephew Charles:—

"*October* 31*st*.—I trust my congratulations upon the fall of Sadok may not prove premature, and that shortly after my arrival at Burrator I may receive the account from you of the expedition.

"I heard from Brooke of his successful and peaceful occupation of Bintulu, and I trust these districts will prove as rich in minerals as the reports state.

"I look upon the present time as the turning-point of Saráwak affairs, which have received an impulse from recent events, to be sustained with gradual progress in well-marked prosperity, or to collapse into the feebleness of a mere native Government. The sugar manufacture may materially assist, for we must have work to attract population, and if one experiment succeeds many others will follow. A good copper-mine would solve the difficulty, and place the Government in a position of comparative security. Money, money, is at the root of success, and no Government can be reckoned safe for a day whose means are inadequate to the wants of the State. No country can stand still, and our Government must

the Malay and Dyak chiefs under his sway, to the number of some hundreds, and, after alluding to the long period he had spent in promoting the welfare of Saráwak, and the state of his health, which required repose, he made over the government of Saráwak to Captain Brooke as Raja Muda. He expressed his hope and expectation that the future progress of Saráwak would be peaceful and prosperous, but said if his presence was again required, from whatever cause, he would be ready to come out to Saráwak. The natives were deeply affected by this address, and many of them testified by tears the sincerity of their attachment to their white Raja."

progress or fail; and the larger our territory the greater our responsibility, and the greater the certainty of ruin from halting. To advance is dangerous, to retrograde impossible, and to stand still, ruin. This, the turning point, I watch with interest, and would impress upon you all the necessity of exertion to force progress in trade and revenue.

"Our long detention in Singapore was not without its use, for there now exists a good feeling towards Saráwak, and I have become a popular man again. The men who would have hung me eight years ago are now loud in my praise. I, at all events, have learned the value of popular applause and the breath of man's favour; but I have learned, too, the lesson that men are to be used for our own purposes, and that their changes are my opportunity. The feather drifting from Singapore may show indications of change in England, and I have no passion or prejudice which will hinder my making an arrangement worthy of Saráwak with the British Government. I am a Saráwak man without a feeling for any other country.

"I am scribbling what is in my head. Our voyage has hitherto been very agreeable, and we leave this again to-morrow. I shall be glad to see Burrator, which is my refuge, and I hope to welcome you there. It is a place you would enjoy, for you must not expect readily to change the independent habits of years for the starch and stiffness of English society. I continue well and strong for me, and I look forward to a return to Saráwak."

The change of feeling at Singapore, mentioned here, was a natural consequence of the confusion of the anti-Brooke party from the failure of the Commission, and the continued devotion of those who were known as Brookites. Amongst these it was generally thought that the Raja's work was done, and that, although he spoke of returning, it was not likely that he would ever come Eastward again. There was something, therefore, of the tone of a farewell in this visit that roused exertion, and a public ball was given in his honour.

The *Free Press* published an account of the festivity. At the supper—purposely arranged to give an opportunity for toasts—Mr. W. H. Read occupied the chair. His speech has the special interest of coming from one to whom every opportunity had been afforded of reading the Raja's character and of testing the nature of his work. "It is unnecessary," Mr. Read said, after proposing Sir James Brooke's health, "to enter into a detailed narrative of the various circumstances which have marked the chequered existence of Sir James Brooke since his appearance in these seas twenty-two years ago, but I wish to commend to your special notice the courage, perseverance, and patience which have enabled him to triumph over many and great difficulties. To give up all hope of revisiting for years one's native land, family, and friends, requires self-denial; whilst to take on one's self the government of a disorganized country and dissatisfied people, to create order out of chaos, in the midst of hostile chiefs, threatening kris and poison, shows a degree of resolution, self-reliance, and determination to do one's duty which cannot fail to attract the admiration of all who truly estimate a noble character. Sir James Brooke saw that a great good was to be done to an unfortunate people, and that, as an Englishman, he could advance his country's interests and increase its influence; and he sacrificed all—living for years with his life in his hand, energetically striving to accomplish the task before him, and with a success which, although not so great as some enthusiasts expected, is still wonderful, considering the serious obstacles he has had to overcome. Not only has he established good government, order, and prosperity in Saráwak and its dependencies, but he has laboured for his native country; and had the measures which he recommended been carried out in their integrity, and the example set by Sir Thomas Cochrane, who approved his policy, been followed by succeeding Admirals, the position of British interests on the north-west coast of Borneo would have been far different to what it is now. The whole of that country, from Bruné to Labook Bay, now the repair of the Lanun pirate, would have

been open to our trade, and Labuan would now possess a valuable commerce. Let us hope that what circumstances have deferred is not altogether lost sight of, and that ere long England will resume that position in these seas to which she has an undoubted right, and which it is the duty of her Government to maintain.

"If an acquaintance of eighteen years—which I am proud to say has ripened into a friendship—entitles me to speak with a certain authority, I say that in Sir James Brooke we know one who during his career in the East has rendered the character of an English gentleman brilliant and renowned. He has proved himself to be a gallant soldier, a clement conqueror, a benign ruler, a steadfast friend. His government—patriarchal, mild and just—is peculiarly adapted to the people who have chosen him for their chief; and their appreciation of the many benefits he has conferred on them is shown by the affection they have testified for him on so many occasions. Unfortunately the state of his health obliges him to leave this vast field of usefulness, and to seek the invigorating breezes of dear Old England, and therefore it is that we are met together to pledge him God-speed, and to assure him that our best wishes and hopes attend him. May he long be spared to his country, his people, and his friends, solaced in his retirement by the conviction that he has done good in his generation, and that he has not lived in vain!"

The Raja's words in reply were brief. After expressing his pleasure at the honour done to him, and speaking of the length of time during which he had been connected with the Indian Archipelago, he turned to Saráwak. "My system," he said, "has been to associate the natives as much as possible with Europeans in the government. It is only by superior moral and intellectual character that Europeans can hope to maintain their ascendency in these countries. If ever the natives attain an equality in these respects, the European rule will cease, and deservedly so. The confidence reposed in Englishmen by the natives is inspired by the probity with which our intercourse with them is conducted. Upon this

principle I have endeavoured to act since first, some twenty years ago, I went to Saráwak. I believe that there will be a great extension of the commerce of these islands, and that from this will result much improvement in the native races, and an increase in their prosperity.

"I have now to thank you for the warm cordiality with which you have received me. Whatever differences of opinion have formerly existed as to my proceedings, are, I feel sure, removed, and that I am now understood. The remembrance of this night will cheer me in my solitude, and strengthen me in public life if I should again enter that arena, and I hail it as the omen of brighter prosperity to Saráwak."

Preparations for a final attack on Rentap's stronghold of Sadok had been begun when the Raja left Saráwak, and shortly after Mr. C. Johnson led a force of Sarebus, Sakarran, and Linga men to the attack. With him were Mr. J. B. Cruickshank, Mr. Watson, and a retired sergeant named Lees. The nature of the ground has been already described. Sergeant Lees had seen bad roads in India and China, but these, he averred, were only fit for monkeys. Yet over such roads—or, rather, no roads—up precipices, over ravines, and through dense jungle, the Dyaks, as lithe as they are strong, carried a 12-pounder howitzer, till they reached the old chief's eyrie, 3000 feet above sea level.

This done, Rentap's two chief allies deserted him, and, joining Mr. C. Johnson, lent their aid in dragging the gun into a nearer position. They were fined all the same, but gave up the jars demanded without demur. "Grandfather Rentap" next sued for terms, but found them too hard—twelve rusa jars (£120), the demolition of his fort, and removal from Sadok, was not to be borne—and burning down the house of one of his faithless friends he remained in his own stronghold till it was shot-riddled, and then left the empty shell and escaped. His name as an enemy henceforth disappears from Saráwak annals. The arms he had taken from Mr. Brereton and Mr. Lee in 1853 were recovered by his

captors, and the eight years of his resistance, then begun, were brought to a close.

After this, there being no special work on hand, Mr. C. Johnson left for England with Mr. and Mrs. C. Grant, and was greeted on the way home by letters from the Raja. Here is one:—

"*Burrator, January* 23, 1862.—Your long letter from Sakarran, conveying the welcome intelligence of the fall of Sadok, set my mind at rest, for, though confident of the result, the great difficulty of the undertaking, and the chances of war, caused me some anxiety.

"It is well over, and I congratulate you upon this success, which will lead to the pacification of the Dyaks and the improved security of Saráwak. You have the warm thanks of your Raja and uncle, who only regrets he has no other reward to bestow but his praise of your ability, zeal, and prudence.

"I write this upon the chance of its meeting you at Malta. The chance prevents my writing more. I am established at Burrator—quiet, mind at rest, and busy with small matters. I long to welcome you here, and I know you will prefer it to any other place in England. I hope you will come to England soon, for you are much wanted, and will be a great comfort to your dear mother, who is not so well as I could wish.

"We shall soon meet quietly, after the first devouring of you is over. I want to hear, for Brooke has referred us all to you upon each and every topic."

In a later letter is an injunction—

"Take care of my sword, which I left with Brooke and which he sent by you. It was given me by a mother as tender as the world ever saw, and no speck must rest upon its blade."

The first four months of 1862 were passed by the Raja at Burrator. He describes himself to Mr. Arthur Crookshank as living "in a solitude the like of which is not found in Saráwak, excepting upon Peninjau."

In July there came great news from Saráwak. The Raja

Muda in the *Rainbow* had met, and, after a hard and hazardous fight, destroyed, six prahus of Lanun pirates, rescuing thereby many miserable captives. The encounter took place off Bintulu, which the pirates found to their cost was no longer a defenceless coast. Among the captives, who had been barbarously treated, were British and Dutch subjects, the former from Singapore.

"I have not been so sanguine about Saráwak for years," the Raja wrote as he rejoiced in the news—"I shall write Brooke about building the proposed gun-boat at once, because it will never do to meet these villains with pulling craft."

Under dates October 9th and 17th, are two letters also to Mr. C. Johnson, referring to an effort to reduce to order Kum Nipa, the Kayan chief, which Captain Brooke had proposed, and which his brother had reasons for being anxious about.

"What you write about the attack on Kum Nipa has some truth in it, but we may trust Brooke to manage it."

"*October 17th.*—I wish to hear of this attack being well over; but we may rely upon Brooke, for surely he would not press the expedition if there was any manifest reluctance. If Kum Nipa flies, our object will be gained; and if he stands and gets beaten, so much the better—either way our *prestige* will be established, but not to attack would be put down to want of courage and ability."

Among other letters of this year, the following are the most characteristic.

To Mr. C. Johnson:—

"I join issue with you on the point that 'Gentlemen are allowed to maintain their private opinion in silence.' No force, short of the witness-box, can make them speak; but what is right to be done must be asked.

"Avoid discord, but express truth as you know it—boldly and freely; for society at large is benefited by honest men avowing what they know and what they think. The concealment of truth is a gain to falsehood, and always produces greater disturbance than a frank expression of opinion.

"As a general rule, I always speak when called upon,

without fear of consequences. I speak out the truth for truth's sake; and I am convinced where men do this, society is more wholesome and honest. Of course each man must judge for himself where prudence ends and moral cowardice begins; but twenty errors of over-boldness are better than one of over-timidity, for boldness is always respected in the long run—timidity, never. I express my own rule of action in general, and it will only influence you so far as it accords with your own principles."

"In public matters we have no friends, we acknowledge no obligations—we hang our own father if duty demands! Let us go straight to the truth, if requisite. Prudence may dictate reserve upon certain occasions, but a higher wisdom requires us to serve the cause of truth."

The following, to a cousin, Mrs. Cumming, is without date, but probably belongs to this year:—

"You must thank Mr. Craigmyle for the cast of Garibaldi, which is admirably executed, and which I admire, not only for the merit of the execution, but as the likeness of a hero. I *guess* Mr. Craigmyle presented the medallion to me from the conviction I could appreciate and sympathise with the man. Old and broken down as I am, a little temptation would bring me under Garibaldi's standard—only I have a work to do which needs me more, and for a people with fewer friends."

To Sir Henry Keppel:—

"*Torquay, December* 21, 1862.—I was talking of you to Lady Churston on the day before your letter arrived here, and intending to write my congratulations upon the birth of your son. I hope he may grow up to be a joy to Lady Keppel and yourself. As long as memory holds, my dear Keppel, you will be in my mind and heart, connected with the past, when Saráwak owed so much to you. The eddies of the world have drifted us a little apart, but only, be sure, to bring us together again with another turn. I have a history since we met, too long to tell; but I may say that the passage of time is tending towards a favourable change,

and my shattered health is wonderfully restored. I ride and shoot a little, and look at the hounds. Come to my poor cottage whenever you visit the west country; and, with my best wishes, say how glad I should be to see Lady Keppel and the wonderful boy."

The change of Government in 1859 had prevented any action that Lord Derby might have taken in consequence of the favourable report of the Hydrographer-General, and the opinions of the naval officers consulted in regard to Saráwak; but the Raja's friends continued their efforts, and shortly after his return to England from the successful campaign at Muka, he wrote to Mr. Fairbairn that he "hoped ere long to be called to town, in consequence of the measures which Government now appears willing to institute." He continues, "The less said about it the better till more advanced. It will indeed crown my labour, and compensate for trials, to know that Saráwak has a foundation to rest upon."

In December, 1861, Mr. S. St. John had received instructions from Lord Russell to report upon Saráwak with a view to a possible arrangement with this country; and later, Colonel Cavenagh, Governor of the Straits Settlements, was directed to visit Saráwak for the same purpose. His visit took place in October, 1862. At that time Captain Brooke was in a very depressed state, arising probably from ill health and mental distress combined. He had re-married and again lost his wife. However this may be, after the Governor's departure he appears to have become a prey to feelings of suspicion and distrust of his uncle, beneath the influence of which, his better judgment overthrown, he allowed himself to address the Raja with words of fierce reproach and direct defiance. His letter, dated October 26th, reached England as the year 1862 closed. Writing to Sir Henry Keppel, nine months later, the Raja speaks of his nephew's "extraordinary conduct, which," he continues, "remains as great a mystery now as it was when it suddenly came upon me. Without a warning, he announced to me that I had violated his rights, and that 'we must try our relative strength in Saráwak;'

and after three weeks' deliberation he wrote that he would 'run every risk' to put an end to the existing state of affairs; and this open rebellion without any reason that I can discover."

Few acquainted with the Raja could doubt his action. He left England, accompanied by his nephew Mr. Charles Johnson, and reached Singapore February 22, 1863. Captain Brooke arrived at the same place two days later, and before meeting his uncle his resistance gave way. He expressed regret for his letters, which had been written, he said, under great irritation, and he asked leave of absence. This was granted by the Raja, who undertook to make him an allowance of £500 a year, accompanying the promise by an assurance that he would, after a time, consider his case as favourably as circumstances permitted.

The submission of the Raja Muda was entire and unconditional; and, so parting, he proceeded to England, while the Raja went on to Saráwak, where his first step was to convene the Supreme Council. The letter to Admiral Keppel, already quoted, continues, "I left England in a hurry to know what was going on here, and I found that, spite of a good deal of misrepresentation, the chiefs and people, the English officers, and all classes, were to a man—so to say—devoted to me."

The feeling of the Council appears to have been mingled surprise, indignation, and regret; and, moved by the last, a desire was expressed that, as the Raja Muda had submitted, no decided course should be taken, and the matter kept private, in the hope of a better future. To this the Raja consented; and had the offence ended here, all might—and as it is thought probably would—have been entirely passed over. But it transpired later that, before leaving Saráwak, Captain Brooke had addressed the English Government, declaring himself absolute Raja of the country, and, as such, protesting against transfer on the ground of cost, and of much possible bloodshed from the opposition of the natives.

It appears that advantage had been taken of Colonel Cavenagh's visit, by some of Sheriff Messahore's old party, to

spread reports that Great Britain was preparing to take the country, and that neither the rights nor the religion of the people would be respected.

It was open to the Raja Muda at any time to have convened the Council for the discussion of the matter in all its bearings, and had he seriously believed in their opposition to such an arrangement as the Raja would alone have sanctioned, to do so would have been his obvious course. As it was, professing to inform the British Government of the will of the people, he discarded the constitutional channel for the discovery and expression of that will, and acted solely on his own responsibility. In consequence of this disclosure, the Council met again on April 25th, when an order was passed, decreeing that the Raja Muda should forfeit his rank, title, and privileges, and "absent himself from the territory of Saráwak for three years," after which time his future position would be re-considered, "with a view to the interests of Saráwak."

CHAPTER XXX.

1863—1868.

The successful encounter of the *Rainbow* with the Lanun pirates had aroused attention at home, and early in April the Raja writes from Saráwak of having been out for ten days in H.M.S. *Scout*. "We have a squadron of seven men-of-war looking out for pirates. It never rains but it pours."

No pirates could be found. Sarebus and Sakarran were now the supporters of order, the Lanuns had good reasons for keeping clear of the extended line of coast under the Saráwak rule, and the Balanini and Sulus remained at home. Both Dutch and Spaniards had been exerting themselves, and the work taken up by England and then dropped was done by others.

The expedition against the Kayans referred to as having been contemplated by the Raja Muda had not taken place. Its necessity arose from their constant raids on the tribes lower down the Rejang, and from their continuing to give shelter to three of the murderers of Mr. Fox and Mr. Steele. As all Saráwak Government expeditions were carried on by unpaid and unrationed forces, nothing could be done apart from the good-will of those on whom the labour would fall. In this case, as the Sakarrans were chiefly interested, their opinion was asked. They were for setting to work without delay. "You see," they said, "we are yet young and strong, but there is no saying what we may be next year; and as the

Kayans have to be attacked, let us do it at once and have done with it."

A great "balla" therefore, as such expeditions were called, set forth in May, led by Mr. Charles Johnson, who had reached Saráwak with the Raja, and accompanied by Mr. J. B. Cruickshank, Mr. Watson with a contingent from Sarebus, Mr. Stuart Johnson, and two other Europeans; the provident Abang Aing making request before starting that he might be supplied with white cloth to perform the last rites to those who fell.

The Raja was not equal to the exertion of going. A letter of June 4th shows his state.

"My dear Charley,—I wish you every success, and although I fear it may be an arduous wild-goose chase, yet the demonstration will be of service and keep the Kayans in order. I reckon that the "balla" will have surmounted the first rapid yesterday. You will advance for a week, which will bring you to June 10th; a week for fighting, to the 17th; and a week to reach Kanowit again, to the 24th. Then wear your laurels and hang up your arms 'as bruised monuments,' close the temple of Janus and worship Ceres. I shall rejoice indeed.

"I have been ailing for some time past, and, although better, I feel that a change will do me good. I feel more strongly still that I could not long stand this climate, for though latterly I have been rather making too free on the score of my strength, yet I am not fit for the exhaustion of the mental wear and tear of business which, however light, requires thought.

"My object now, which I think I can accomplish, is to restore order, and introduce a system into the different departments of Government, so as to make it over to you in working condition. In every department I find confusion, irregularity, and dilapidation. However, we need not trouble ourselves about what cannot be mended, only I must have you with me for a month or six weeks before I take my departure for Europe. I shall go to Singapore in the *Rainbow*, meet Captain Osborn and arrange about the Chinese . . . but do not wish to be away longer than a month."

To gain the heart of the Kayan country it was necessary to ascend the Rejang beyond its third rapids, and to pass these was a work of great difficulty and danger. Many boats were lost, and some of the "balla" preferred remaining behind to attempting them, but the rest pushed on, and, as one of the Europeans remarked, "It was worth while coming so far to see what boats could be made to do."

The Kayans ran away on all occasions, leaving their families behind. Some of the chiefs were, however, communicated with, and to Kum Nipa, the principal one, a Saráwak flag and a twelve-pounder shot were sent with a message that he must take his choice—the flag would bring him unharmed to Kanowit, where he was invited to a conference; if he did not appear it would be understood that he accepted the sign of renewed war.

The invaders then retired, and before long were followed to Kanowit by Kum Nipa, dressed in the Raja's discarded Labuan uniform, and by sixty-nine other Kayan chiefs, all coming under cover of the flag, to ask for peace. As they brought with them the heads of two of the murderers (the third had escaped), no doubt was entertained of their sincerity, and a peace was concluded, which left the whole of the Saráwak territory without an enemy, and without an intertribal war.

While this was taking place the Raja had gone to Singapore and met Captain Sherard Osborn. The latter was preparing for his Chinese command, and a plan was on foot by which Chinese rebels were to be transported to Saráwak for convict labour. The scheme fell through, but the Raja did not allow the idea to drop, and somewhat later he arranged with the Indian Government that fifty convicts, Sepoys and others, should be transferred from the Andaman Islands. They were to have been men concerned in the Mutiny, not felons, but this agreement was disregarded. Such as they were, however, they took kindly to Saráwak rule, and did their work well. A few have been pardoned and have returned to India, but most are still in the country and bear excellent characters.

It pleased the Raja that some of his old army should be in Saráwak, "such fine fellows as they used to be, and no doubt still are!"

Meanwhile, Captain Brooke had reached England, and there arrived—moved by whatever cause—his submission ceased; and while at Singapore the Raja received a formal notice that his nephew would have recourse to English law for the recovery of his rights.

To appeal to a foreign tribunal upon a question solely within the jurisdiction of Saráwak was considered treason to the State, and after the Raja's return to the country an Order in Council passed on August 4th, decreeing that Captain Brooke should forfeit all rights in Saráwak and be banished from its territory.

Two days later, the political position and future prospects of the country were discussed in Council, when it was decided that it was expedient Saráwak should be placed under the protection of a European power, but that no Raja should have the right to do so against the consent of the chiefs and people.

By the desire of his uncle Mr. Charles Johnson now assumed the name of Brooke, and as Tuan Muda, an inferior title to Raja Muda, but one that he preferred, as seeming less to bar the chance, however remote, of his brother's restoration, was left in charge of the Government; and in September the Raja bade farewell to the people and the country he was never to see again.

On October 31st, he wrote back from Singapore:—

"My dearest Charley,—Remember, if your health or other cause demands my presence, send for me. I gave Datu Bandar a pearl ring, which, in concert with you, he is to send me in token of my being wanted.

"The recognition I look upon as nearly gained, and we may look forward to a Consul being sent. He will probably be a person agreeable to our Government; but, at any rate, the course to be pursued will be the same. Receive him with a salute of nine guns, and when the British flag is hoisted fire twenty-one guns, and mark the occasion with every demonstra-

tion of rejoicing—make a festa of it, and explain to all what it is about. Ever thine, dear friend and nephew, affectionately and trustingly—J. BROOKE."

The Raja's friends in England had cheered him a few months before, by leading him to hope that Lord Palmerston would grant recognition. The prospect is again referred to in a later letter—"It will be a glorious consummation of my labours, though only the first instalment of what I work for."

From Singapore he was accompanied home by Mr. W. H. Read, and the two friends came through France by easy stages, the Raja reaching London in November.

From Burrator (January 12, 1864), he wrote again to his nephew, the Tuan Muda Charles Brooke:—

"Your letter of November 15th was as welcome as the news always is of quiet and prosperity in our country, and I was much gratified by your expressing your opinions and feelings so freely and confidentially. I am sure it will be of use to us both to consider the present and future position of affairs, and the line of conduct we ought to pursue for the good of Saráwak, and thus I answer in explanation what you have said.

"In the early part of my career I might have moulded the Government according to my will, and I then gave the people a free constitution and the rights of free men. I educated them to it, and taught them the value of such a privilege. I have never had cause to repent, nor have they ever abused the freedom they possess, and which I hope they may long enjoy.

"It is true that, as the founder, the possessor of the deeds of cession from the former sovereign, and as a public creditor, I have the power to dismember and so ruin Saráwak; but this is so far from my heart that I am striving to maintain the rights of the people by providing a permanent Government after my death.

"*January 18th.*—As I have written a week ago, I seek to establish a Government which shall give permanency, and

possess the means of progress whilst it maintains the rights of the people and the administration as it exists at present.

"You are my successor, either directly or indirectly, in Saráwak, and the inheritor of the chief part of my private fortune. You will not decline this trust in one way or another for the good and happiness of our people."

The long-striven-for recognition was really won at last, and Mr. Ricketts went out this year (1864) the first Consul to Saráwak.

In a letter to Mr. A. C. Crookshank, the Raja thus writes of the appointment:—

"*Bath, March* 7, 1864.—Recognition is now gained. Mr. Ricketts is the Consul, and he will in a month or two at most start for Saráwak. You must do your best to make him a friend, and work kindly and sincerely with him, and carry him heartily with the Government. Much will depend upon co-operation, and on either side there is the means to help or annoy each other. Saráwak has now reached a point whence she must go forward, or we may give up the hope of her ever doing so, and now the first step has been gained we will mount higher. The protection of England, and, with her sanction, some arrangement to insure security and permanency of government upon my death, is the second step. Whether anything can be done I know not, but that Saráwak without some support to the Government will be in a difficult and dangerous situation, we can all see. If I can arrive at the basis of an arrangement, I shall come out to consider it in Council; and I have the satisfaction of knowing that, in the mean while, the Tuan Muda and yourself, and the chiefs and officers generally, will place a fair construction upon my acts, and feel convinced I labour for the public good and the advancement of the country. Prosperity must be based upon stability, or it is no better than moonshine upon water. Then I should come out, but till then do not stand still."

The appointment of a Consul, and the degree of recognition thereby implied, brings the history of the relations between the English Government and Sir James Brooke practically to

a close. Some correspondence, however, seems to have taken place until the death of Lord Palmerston. Writing to Mrs. Keating [1866] the Raja says, "I have long ceased expecting anything from the British Government, and wish to bring the question to a decisive negative, as I am aware that individually Ministers speak of Saráwak as being as good as an English possession, without need of care on their part. I do not agree in this opinion, and dislike being a tool."

His last public expression of opinion on the subject,* appears in his introduction to his nephew Mr. Charles Brooke's "Ten Years in Saráwak."

Looking back on the past he says here—

"I once had a day-dream of advancing the Malayan race by enforcing order and establishing self-government among them; and I dreamed, too, that my native country would derive the benefit of position, influence, and commerce, without the responsibilities from which she shrinks. But the dream ended with the first waking reality, and I found how true it is that nations are like men—that the young hope more than they fear, and that the old fear more than they hope—that England had ceased to be enterprising, and could not look forward to obtaining great ends by small means perseveringly applied, and that the dependencies are not now regarded as a field of outlay to yield abundant national returns, but as a source of wasteful expenditure to be wholly cut off. The cost ultimately may verify an old adage, and some day England may wake from her dream of disastrous economy, as I have awakened from my dream of extended usefulness. I trust the consequences may not be more hurtful to her than they have been to me.

"Since this I have found happiness in advancing the happiness of my people, who, whatever may be their faults, have been true to me and mine through good report and evil report, through prosperity and through misfortune. The principle of the Government of Saráwak is to rule for the people and with the people, and to teach them the rights of

* Dated Burrator, January 6, 1866.

free men under the restraints of Government. The majority in the 'Council' secures a legal ascendency for native ideas of what is best for their happiness here and hereafter. The wisdom of the white man cannot become a *hindrance*, and their English ruler must be their friend and guide, or nothing. The citizen of Saráwak has every privilege enjoyed by the citizen of England, and far more personal freedom than is known in a thickly populated country.

"Saráwak has now been recognized as an independent State by America, by England, and by Italy; and, with increasing population, trade, and revenue, she may look forward to maintain her position and extend her influence still further. But to secure permanency she needs the protection of an enlightened nation to sustain her effort of self-government; and this protection she could repay by equivalent advantages. Failing this object, the past may become a guide for the future, and enable Saráwak to stand alone."

The first Consular Report from Saráwak was a great pleasure to the Raja.

"Another such," he writes to Mr. Charles Brooke, November 23, 1864, "may probably secure the Protectorate. . . . Upon the report, in Lord Russell's handwriting, are the words 'A very full and able report.' It has been thought important enough to be communicated to the India Office, and probably will be printed. It speaks in high, but just, commendation of you and of the principles of our rule."

"*November 24th.*—The increase on the opium farm is the substantial test of advancing prosperity, and, with the security and enlarging trade, surpasses my most sanguine expectations. I am satisfied, and *more than satisfied*, you unbelieving Turk; and though you write that you do not expect I shall be satisfied, I am purring with contentment, to prove you wrong.

"That wicked old city Bruné seems, by Low's account, to be on its last legs. I wish I was in a position to help Muda Hassim's family; but, at any rate, we as yet command the position by the revenue we pay, and should do our best to help, and soothe discussions without an active interference."

The future was brightening now, and although this might be, as the Raja wrote, "too late for ambition," it was not too late for a moderate satisfaction. Every mail brought tidings of peace, and we gather something of the pressure removed by a sentence in a letter of September 8th, 1864. "I no longer," he says, "turn faint and sick at the sight of my Saráwak letters. I *hope*—and this is much to say at my time of life and in my position."

On February 25th, 1865, he wrote to his nephew Charles from London—

"Your project for a Council in the different provinces I entirely approve, and leave you to carry out. You may subsequently consider whether upon important occasions it may be right to form a national body, composed of all the Councils, to be convened by the Raja or his representative, to meet at Saráwak. The Raja, or his representative, should be president, and the governors of the provinces the vice-presidents of these local *kunsils* [councils], and there should be brief standing orders limiting their action, so as to prevent their clashing with the Supreme Council.

"I think it better to postpone regulations concerning slaves and slave debtors, at any rate until I return next year; and the great question to decide is, whether slavery exists (in the legal sense) in Saráwak? You might prepare regulations, speak to the datus about it, ascertain their feelings, and so prepare for the measure.

"A record, as you advise, of passing events, change of laws, new regulations, etc., would be excellent, if well kept; but you must bear in mind that the orders in Council are on record, and serve the purpose as far as they go. My correspondence, rather than the journals, gives the best picture of my mind and acts, but very desultory and incomplete.

"You would have perceived the importance I attached to the succession, by my pressing the matter upon you repeatedly. Your words now are that you told him (the Bandar) you were not ambitious on the point, nor should you ask, or accept, during my life, any proposals concerning the Raj.

You add, '*But if I was left at your death, by your will, your successor,' you would feel yourself 'bound to bear the responsibility and undertake the trust to the best of your abilities.*'

"This plain language gives me the greatest satisfaction, and upon it you are my successor. *You* will undertake the trust, and not transfer it under any circumstances. This matter, then, is finished, and you *are* my successor, which affords me the highest gratification and relieves me from a burden of care and suspense.

"Tell Datu I go further than he does, for I hold that each Raja of Saráwak, upon his accession, should take a Coronation oath or asseveration, before the people assembled, to maintain the established Constitution and all and every the rights of his subjects. This is the usual mode amongst free nations of binding a ruler, and is better than paper pledges; but pledges of any sort are nothing unless the Datus, the Council, and people are watchful and resolute to maintain their liberties."

There is nothing more of stirring interest to tell now. The Raja's work was well-nigh done, but the hardest task of life yet remained—the bearing with a steady patience a continually increasing burden of weakness and distress. The sight or remembrance of courage under a like trial in others always touched him, and he would speak humbly and tenderly of endurance that was, he said, a lesson to himself.

Here are two letters, written in bright moods, to his nephew Charles:—

"*June* 6, 1865.—I beg to tell you that your fancy about my being *mopish* at Burrator is all *bosh!* I chose the life after mature deliberation, and, aware of the drawbacks within and without, adopted it. There is nothing to regret, for a man cannot elect to have a home of his own, a *pied-à-terre*, and then want what he has not got and can't afford to get. I resolved to be a country mouse, and can't be a town mouse as well.

"I hate society, so called, and I suffer from it. I am fond

of Burrator, and won't let you write me out of it. I am as poor always as a church mouse and country mouse ought to be, but when we grow richer, and Saráwak has money to spare, I will launch forth into the Italian palace, or villa, or cottage you recommend. I should like to add London chambers, etc., to my refuge at Burrator, and to live as a Raja should live, clothed in satin raiment and faring sumptuously every day; but till we are richer it is well to be content and happy on what we have."

"*September* 8, 1865.—Again I am at my own intent, and enjoying my liberty away from the world and the world's restraints. This is my Saráwak. I am lord of all I survey, and I try to make everybody happy. In this, perhaps, consists the secret of contentment when age is stealing from me the joys of physical existence.

"I say, however, that, in spite of trials and anxieties, calumny and misrepresentation, *I have been a happy man*, and can pillow my head with the consciousness of a well-spent life of sacrifice and devotion to a good cause."

Of the same date (September, 1865) is a letter to Mr. W. H. Read, in which the Raja thus refers to a book that had been recently published, and which bore on his work in the East:—"He [the author] carps in a sneaking way whenever my name is mentioned, and I like man or dog to attack me to my face, and not to nibble my heels."

In October, 1864, and again in July, 1865, he was at Bonchurch with General Le Grand Jacob, to whom the two following letters were addressed:—

"*August* 29, 1864.—I found your kind letter upon my return home, and was sorry to hear so poor an account of your health. . . . For myself, I may say I am fortunate by comparison. I do not suffer pain; I am cheerful and able to enjoy life in its calmer phases. I can ride and walk in moderation, and take pleasure in country pursuits. I have a cottage in a very wild and retired country. I hope I have learned the old old lesson that all is vanity, and, as men go, I am content—sometimes almost happy, so long as Saráwak

prospers and progresses. The formal recognition and appointment of a Consul has done us much good, and I still strive before I go hence to establish the country and Government upon a footing to last after me.

"P.S.—*My* Devonshire is bleak and bracing—sharp as a knife—close on the moor."

"*November* 8, 1864.—Many thanks for your letter, but I beg to say you have made a mistake about the length of our acquaintance. One month in Saráwak makes one year in India, and one year in India makes ten years in England, and so I have known you for ten years by *Troy weight!* Besides this, I am conscious of having been intimate with you in a pre-existing state this hundred years or more. There can be no error. I intend, nevertheless, to pay you a longer visit in the spring. . . . As for negroes, I do not place them high in the scale of creation, but they may be higher, and I think are clever enough to choose their rulers, if not to rule themselves; and these rulers should be bound over to rule on right principles and with tender discipline. Strictly speaking, and looking at home, I know no race fit to govern their fellow men."

Next to Saráwak the subject that most warmly interested him at this time was the character of the opposition to Bishop Colenso, and the controversy on the Inspiration of the Bible. He knew the Bishop personally, and sympathised with him. Here are parts of letters that show his mind. They were written to the Rev. George Cox.

"*Bath, March* 2, 1864.—I shall be happy to subscribe £5 for the Defence Fund (Bishop of Natal). I fight against prosecution, knowing that a man may be put to death in ways more cruel than burning. You must let me know when and where to pay the money. I am poor, but when richer will add to my subscription if wanted."

"*Burrator, December* 31, 1864.—You are quite certain of my assent to your 'Eternal Punishment;' and I would have acknowledged it sooner had I not been busy with many disagreeables. To-morrow is New Year Sunday, and I will read

it carefully, not doubting that I shall profit by it, for nothing helps me more than a glimpse of truth shining through the *mixen* of orthodoxy, so called.

"*Bath, February* 2, 1866.—The time has arrived for every honest man to take his side and speak out. What I intend to do is to attack the Archbishop of Canterbury's letter, in the *Times*, or, failing the *Times*, in the *Examiner*.

"2. I propose taking the opinion of a weighty counsel, Sir Robert Phillimore, or Dr. Travers Twiss, or a weightier if to be found.

"3. Just before the meeting [of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel] I will send a note to the Rev. the Secretary, stating my objection to their proceeding, briefly under two heads, viz., I. As compromising the foreign missions of the society by giving them a political and party character; and, II. That the principles announced are so dangerous and subversive of authority everywhere, that distrust must be the consequence.

"This in my character of Ruler of Sárawak. I shall come to town on the 11th, or sooner if you summon me. Do not hesitate to do so.

"*Bath, February* 3, 1866.—Read instructions and letter to Mr. Booty. Comment freely for his use, and forward to him speedily two or three passages from the Bishop of Capetown's writings in defiance of the Queen's authority and jurisdiction, and of a temporal tribunal. With God's help we will see justice done. . . . I send for your perusal two slight contributions to the great mass of human intelligence, as I like to pull every question to pieces for my own conviction. Why not upon this admitted human error in the Bible found or propose an agreement, or expose a pretence? . . . If the Bible be 'guarded from error,' as the Archbishop affirms, there can be no human element in it; it must be infallible. But if the human element be admitted, it becomes the duty of every believer to separate the divine from the human portion, the true from the false, in the book; and this is exactly what the liberal party is trying to do, and what the

orthodox, although conceding the human element, are trying to prevent.

"The Bishop of London's speech is charitable and kindly, but deceptive. A contradiction is irreconcilable—an apparent contradiction may be no contradiction at all. The dispute is on the positive and irreconcilable contradiction, whilst the Bishop deals only with the apparent contradiction, and so misleads on the real question at issue. Time cannot reconcile a positive contradiction.

"Now, after all, would it not be wiser for both parties, admitting as they do the human element, *i.e.*, the erroneous part, to separate calmly and candidly the true from the false, the infallible from the fallible in Holy Scripture?

"The Archbishop, in his late charge, declares that we must be 'prepared to allow the human element' in the Bible, and if this be admitted what ground is there for further dispute? Does the Archbishop not desire to separate the divine from the human element in the Bible, or does he in reality uphold the verbal inspiration of Scripture under false pretences?"

The discovery of ancient bones continued to interest him, and he sent many directions on the subject of search to Mr. Charles Brooke. "We have formed," he wrote May 5, 1864, "a committee, of which Sir Charles Lyell, the Consul, and yourself are members, for the examination of the bone caves in Saráwak. I have pledged myself that the Government shall make a preliminary inquiry to discover whether bones exist or not, and if they do to forward specimens home." A reward of one hundred dollars was to be offered for information, "and if reported you must send an officer to see, collect them, and note every particular."

Bones being reported, he wrote later—"You must take great care of that huge fossil bone and send it home in safe keeping. Wrap him in cotton and envelop in yellow and satin, direct him in letters of gold, describe him in illuminated characters, and search the cave where the precious relic

was found. He is worth more than the bones of St. Peter or the teeth of St. Paul. By the bye, are you sure that it is a fossil?"

"*January* 25, 1865.—The fossil bone has reached me, but *broken!* Oh, Charley!—does not this interjection convey a volume of reproaches? I forgive you, and will let you know what it is decided to be by good authorities.

"*January* 28*th*.—The fossil is pronounced to be a portion of an elephant's tooth. They are clamorous for more, so please indulge them shortly."

"*November* 9*th*.—It is proposed that a collection of the productions of Saráwak should be sent home for exhibition in France, in the spring of 1867. I refer the question to your decision. . . . Do not postpone the examination of a good cavern. Signor Beccari * writes that he would have done it before but he has not the means. You can let him have a boat, boat's crew, tools, food, and everything necessary for the exploration; and it would be *malu besar* (great shame) to permit a private gentleman to do at his own expense what the Government is pledged to, to say nothing of the fossils becoming his property. You do not estimate aright the importance of attracting the attention of *savans*, or the evil consequences of inattention to their wishes, and to the advancement of science. What am I to answer when they ask if it has been done?"

Part of each of these last years was passed by the Raja at Bath, in the house of Mr. and Mrs. Keating, with whom so many days in boyhood had been spent, part with Miss Burdett-Coutts, and part at Brambridge House, near Winchester, where Mr. Fairbairn had moved from Northwood. From this place he wrote to Mr. Templer, October 31, 1866: "Your Scotch trip was no doubt very agreeable. I was at the Gordon family mansion with Dr. Cruickshank of the *Castle Huntley*, Harry Wright with us. We were young then and could enjoy—as we did." The letter concludes with, "I am much in my usual state of strong-weakness."

* An Italian gentleman visiting Saráwak for scientific objects.

Happy as he was with these and with many other friends, he always went back to Burrator with pleasure. In 1865 the Rev. W. Y. Daykin came to live at Sheepstor as curate-in-charge, and either he or Mrs. Daykin was continually at Burrator, ready to do anything the Raja liked—to read, or to drive him out in his little Norway cart, or to be with him in his favourite seat by a waterfall in the grounds. A rustic bench and table were placed in the most picturesque spot, half way down the fall, and some boughs kept cut to let in a distant view, but, apart from this, Nature did all. Here he would sit for hours.

Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Crookshank were often with him for weeks together. Mrs. Crookshank, looking back to the first day she saw the Raja, and thinking how at Burrator also the people clung to him, says—"To his unfailing goodness and kindness I certainly can testify, from the time I first went out to Saráwak in 1856 up to the last day I was with him in May, 1868." She goes on to say, "Even when tried by illness, he was not like ordinary mortals—the old heroic spirit never gave in."

Among those who were made welcome to Burrator was the faithful old servant who had nursed Mrs. Brooke through her last illness—Martha Bennett. She has given up some much-treasured letters received from the Raja. One is written from Singapore in 1850:—

"You know well," he says, "how grateful I am to you for your kind attention to my mother, and I hope if I can add anything more to make you comfortable, that you will let me know." Another bears date February 24th, 1862. A fresh plan for the old woman's comfort had been arranged by Mrs. Johnson.

"I am hopeful," runs the letter, "this plan may prove ultimately for your happiness, and I shall have more chance of seeing you so near to London. I hope in the summer you may be able to pay me a visit. I would do my best to make you snug and comfortable. Let me know when you are going to move, and whether I can be of any use in helping you.

Believe me, my dear Martha, your sincere old friend—JAMES BROOKE."

His feeling towards his eldest nephew is shown in many letters. January 12, 1864, he wrote to Admiral Keppel :—

"I have not a hard or unkind feeling towards my unhappy nephew, but I cannot help him without debasing myself. He has rubbed off the bloom from the tender flower of Trust—and how replace it?"

To Mrs. Keating :—

"*February* 10, 1865.—I received an overture from Brooke which I thought at first might lead to the renewal of our family concord, but he has since shifted his position, and it remains to be seen whether he will change again. You shall read the correspondence."

"*July* 22, 1865.—Brooke asked for forgivenesss and has got it, but for what offence he does not state. It may be for everything or nothing from the wording of his letter. Time will show, but as yet there is no renunciation of his pretensions, or retraction of the accusations against his uncle and Raja."

To Mr. W. H. Read :—

"*September* 22, 1865.—In the winter he [Captain Brooke] refused submission to my authority; in the summer he suddenly asked my pardon and forgiveness, which I gave him, in so far as his offences were of a personal nature, but I added I could not save him from the consequences of his own acts."

To Mrs. Keating :—

"*November* 3, 1865.—Brooke having pleaded for pardon and forgiveness, I wrote him a few lines to assure him I was not unmindful of the kindlier feelings revived by his letters, and would try to arrive at an arrangement in accordance with his wishes.

"This was a week ago to-morrow, but I have as yet received no reply, and conclude there is a new gust of vacillation or temper. There is no dealing with such a man."

In another and earlier letter he touches on what has probably been the chief cause of some misunderstanding in this matter.

"There is no uncle or nephew in the case. Z. cannot separate public from private matters. Until Brooke submits as a public man he cannot be otherwise considered than an enemy to the State. I hope you will never believe that I have harsh or angry feelings towards any."

All references to his nephew in the latest letters are coupled with expressions of pity. The last to Mrs. Nicholetts, dictated a few days before his death, begs her to give a full answer to his anxious questions about her father, mother, and brother.* "I cannot write," he concludes with, "for I am not well to-day. This is but a bit of a letter to be supplemented by-and-by."

On March 24, 1866, the Raja wrote to Mr. Charles Brooke: "A few days ago I had a very kind letter from your mother informing me of Mr. Nicholetts' death, who was found peacefully sleeping in the morning, but with life departed. He was a truly good man, and his family will soon hang tender thoughts around his memory, and feel that he has died full of years and honours."

In September, 1866, Mr. and Mrs. A. C. Crookshank and Mr. Stuart Johnson were at Burrator, and later, Mr. Spenser St. John, who left to spend Christmas with a blind and aged father. Mr. and Mrs. Daykin were to dine with the Raja on Christmas Day, and he, wishing, as he once wrote, "that for the sake of the poor, it could be Christmas all the year round," was interesting himself as usual in providing special comforts for his household, and for all within reach, when, on December 22nd, he became helpless, his right side paralysed. He could only speak with great difficulty, but there was no

* Anxious to do justice to Captain Brooke in the reference, however brief that my narrative would necessitate to the subject of his unhappy differences with the Raja, I applied in various quarters for any explanation made by him, or which could be advanced on his behalf, but without success. He survived the Raja by a few months only. His health had manifestly begun to fail in Saráwak, and acts which it is difficult to consider without perplexity were perhaps, to a very great extent, due to physical causes. As it is, the many years during which he was his uncle's right hand, and the noble part he played in the Raja's work, will be remembered and bear fruit; and, for the rest, the more merciful our judgment the more likely is it to be a just one.

loss of consciousness, and his first effort was to make it understood that he hoped his illness would cause no difference to Mr. and Mrs. Daykin's coming to him on Christmas Day. The former begged to be allowed to recall Mr. St. John. "No—Christmas time," was the answer. Mr. Daykin wrote, however, and Mr. St. John returned the day he received the letter, and did all he could for him for many weeks.

His power of speech was regained, though not entirely; but he could never write again, and his letters, few and short from this time, are dictated. They are, nevertheless, free from all stiffness, and there is the old ring in them. Here is one to General Jacob:—"I am very sorry indeed at being disappointed by not being able to write to you at greater length, but so it is; and, without being worse, I am forced to stop writing and leave you to write to me. I have a new physician, who so decrees, and I submit. I hope that the news of you is good, and that we may meet in the summer time with such partial evil to both as God permits."

To Mr. C. Brooke:—

"*October* 29, 1867.—How your description of the country and Matang made my mouth water! And this I tell you seriously, dear Charley, that if I have strength and life, I will endeavour to come out and see you all again. Altogether, I have not been idle during my stay at home. You heard by last mail of my wretched attack of illness; it was much more severe than I anticipated, but it passed away quickly and left me as good as I was before. I have received every care and kindness from Bertha, Arthur, and Stuart, besides the faithful services of servants. Bertha, who is all kindness, has been my unceasing friend."

His slow progress towards recovery had been retarded by an attack of illness in September of this year (1867). On December 24th he wrote again, from Torquay, to Mr. C. Brooke

"I am mending, and hope to get better, but, oh Charley! how little it signifies, though how many happy hours have we passed! Your poor mother is laid up, an invalid to attend on your brother, who, as Mary Anna says, will be months

before he can recover his wonted health. A thousand loves to all."

Mrs. Johnson was able to be with him for a little time at Torquay, and then Mrs. Nicholetts came.

On March 29, 1868, he wrote to Mrs. Littlehales :—

"My dear Nancy,—You have my best thanks for accepting the present I sent you [a portrait of his old guardian, Mr. Kegan]. It is a very good likeness, and you are its proper guardian, and its possession will recall many pleasant reminiscences of bygone days.

"My health is such as to require great care, and forbids my moving much, but I get a daily drive with my niece Mary Anna [Nicholetts]. I sometimes manage to see my friends. Otherwise I am at home and wait the great change.

"My best love to your husband, and to the party at Bath, particularly the two aged ones [Mr. and Mrs. Keating]. Say all that is kind."

To Mr. Charles Brooke :—

"*Burrator, April* 7, 1868.—Remember if I die you take possession of Saráwak, for you are my heir by appointment.

"Be just to our people."

"*Burrator, June* 4, 1868.—Mary Nicholetts paid me a long visit, and I am now hoping a return. God bless her! I am not improving so rapidly as I should wish, and, indeed, must submit to the tedious progress of recovery.

"I have no recollection of the pipe I sent the Bandar, but remember me most kindly to him. Your visit to the out-stations interests me greatly, and on the whole terminated most favourably. Give my best love to all the good folk.

"I have been very busy with Arthur. He is very valuable, and talks of coming out in October next. I talk of coming with him if in a fit state. God bless you all!"

These are the Raja's last words to his people.

On Sunday, June 8th, he walked, with help, to Mr. Daykin's house. His love of flowers was as true as ever, and the roses in the little garden called forth his admiration. The most beautiful were laid on his breast a few days later.

On Monday the last stroke of paralysis fell on him. He was in the act of dictating a letter to Mr. Crookshank, but had not got farther than "My dear Arthur," when he became unconscious; and on Wednesday, June 11th, a few minutes before seven in the morning, "the great change" came.

Mrs. Johnson and her son Stuart, Mr. Daykin, and Mr. Arthur Crookshank were with him. The latter, writing on the following day to Mr. W. H. Read, says—"He never spoke nor was conscious from the time of his seizure till his death. The last four hours was a hard struggle for life, and the most painful sight; but at the last his face assumed the most beautiful, calm yet bright, look and smile I ever saw, and then his spirit fled."

When, a little later, the poor people stole in sorrowfully and reverently to take their last look, they found that the weary anxious expression which had touched their hearts the more because of the smile ever ready to light up the face, had entirely passed away, and the Raja lay in death as Saráwak had known him in the full vigour of his manhood.

The burial took place June 17th, one of the most sunny days of that long summer of 1868. The body was carried by men who loved it and were proud of their burden; and men, women, and children mourned as it was laid in the spot in the churchyard the Raja had himself chosen, under the great beech-tree, but not so near as to lose the sun. "Sir James Brooke, K.C.B., Raja of Saráwak," the strangely blended titles, flashed up from the brass on the oaken coffin.

The bells chimed before the service, instead of tolling. A message had been misunderstood, but it was a welcome home; and they who loved him most could thank God even in their grief that He had called His servant into rest.

The will of Sir James Brooke bears date April 15, 1867. By it he bequeathed his Sovereignty of Saráwak to his nephew,

Charles Johnson Brooke, and his male issue; failing such, to his nephew, Stuart Johnson, and his male issue. In default of such issue the Raja devised his said Sovereignty, "the rights, privileges, and power thereto belonging, unto her Majesty the Queen of England, her heirs and assigns for ever."

The Baroness Burdett-Coutts and Sir Thomas Fairbairn, Bart., are trustees for this portion of the will. While drawing it up the Raja wrote to Mr. Charles Brooke, telling him of the first and second provision, and then stopping short with the words—

"This is the arrangement I have made for *the present.* There may be a golden chance of a change for the good of the people."

APPENDIX.

NOTES taken during a visit to Sheepstor in October, 1873, will show the feeling of those among whom the Raja's last years were spent, and in whose keeping his body lies. He purchased Burrator in August, 1859, and died in June, 1868. Of these nine years two (1861 and 1863) were passed in Saráwak. Of the remainder he was not actually resident more than about half of each. The hold he gained on the affections of the people would be remarkable if it did not so harmonize with all his previous history.

Monday, October 6, 1873.—With Mrs. Daykin over the moor, to the warren, to call on Mr. Ware, the "warrener," and his wife. They received us very kindly, and at Mrs. Daykin's invitation began gladly to speak of Sir James Brooke. The last time he had come to their house he was on horseback, Mrs. Ware said; her son was ill, and he had heard of it, but how she did not know. He offered her an arm-chair, or bedstead, or anything from his house that would be of use or comfort. He always found out immediately any case of sickness or distress, and there was not a house in the village he had not visited. Partridge, chicken, any dainty from his own table, was sent to the sick ones. When he first came the school was in a bad condition—an inefficient mistress, and a room only. He never rested till a school was built and a proper mistress obtained.

Here the daughter broke in with a remembrance of his having come into the school one day, and made fun for the children (she being one) by holding out both hands and making them guess which one held something for them.

"The children all loved him," added her mother; "and, indeed, everybody felt happier when they had caught sight of Sir James Brooke in the day."

At Christmas every one who worked for him came to dinner with their families, and had presents, and those who could not come had Christmas fare sent to them, and the children had presents. She could not say who told him what to give, for there was no lady, and "gentlemen generally give money only, but he gave both."

The last time she saw him he was very feeble, leaning on Mr. Stuart Johnson, and when he shook hands with her she found two of his fingers helpless. "He was a very great loss."

Then, moving into the outer room, we found Mr. Ware, who is churchwarden this year.

"Missed Sir James Brooke! Ay, indeed, we did. We have had no gentleman like him; he was a great loss to all the country."

"Some people said," it was here remarked, "that he was hard, cruel, and unjust. What do you think?"

"They never *could* have known him," was the answer. "Why, he was the dearest, kindest, sweetest old gentleman there ever was." (The words repeated twice with great earnestness.) "He was so gentle you might tell him anything."

He made friends with everybody very soon after he came, and dined with all the farmers at their Easter Vestry dinner. He was made churchwarden, and used to look after the church, and one day he (Ware) remembered walking with him through the churchyard, and Sir James pointed to the great beech-tree, and looked up into its branches and said, "Ware, when I am dead, I should like to be buried by this tree."

"One of the papers did say," broke in Mrs. Ware, "that he ought to have been buried in Westminster Abbey. And before he died a gentleman came here about some shooting, and he could not believe Sir James Brooke was living in this out-of-the-way place, and he said the country ought not to let him live here, and that they had not done *half* what they ought for him."

We came away, and Mr. Ware followed some distance to talk a little more of Sir James. A young man in the Raja's house had behaved unfairly about some shooting, and had thrown the blame on Ware. "I knew Sir James thought I was in the wrong, and so one day when I met him I told him how it all was." The Raja persuaded the offender to apologize and shake hands, and the patient gentle way in which he reproved him, together with his marked desire to do justice, "of course I shall never forget."

October 7th.—Mrs. Daykin took me to see "Mother Jenny," as she likes to be called—an old woman, once the beauty of the village, while her husband, "Father Tom," now dead, was its handsomest man. The kindness of the Raja was a pleasant theme to her. The last time she had seen him was at Mr. Daykin's the Sunday before he died. "He shook hands with me and said, 'I'm coming up to see you one of these fine days.'" She was at his burial—all the parish was there. She missed him more than she could say; her hope had always been that he might have outlived her. She had broken her hip-bone nine years back, and he came up at once to see her, and every day sent food and wine. She thought he had really saved her life. "'How much wine does the doctor say you may take?' he asked me one day. 'I don't know, sir,' I said. 'Well, then, ask him.' So I did, and he said whenever I felt inclined I might take a

little. I told Sir James, and he said so I should, and when he sent one bottle he used to say, 'there's another when that's done'—just in that way. He gave me that chair" (pointing to an easy one) "to sit in when I was first able to come downstairs, and I'd rather part with anything but that. When he was away his secretary would come and ask how I was, because Sir James wished to know. And when Father Tom was ill he was so good to him—but he was good to everybody."

Leaving Mother Jenny we turned back to the house of Andrews, the Raja's old gamekeeper. He was out, but his wife was at home. "Sir James Brooke—ay, indeed, he was a loss! She liked Mr. Tyrrel, the gentleman that was at Burrator before, and was sorry he was going; but Mr. Tyrrel—he was an outspoken gentleman—he said, 'What a *fule* you are, Sally; the gentleman that's coming will do ten times more good in the place than ever I did.' As soon as Sir James came he went round to every cottage with Mr. Tyrrel, and then again by himself, and in about ten days he knew everybody. He made himself our equal, you know—I mean he used to come in so kindly and sit down and talk to us."

We went on now to one of the Raja's favourite walks by the side of the *leat*, as it is called, the reservoir which has supplied Plymouth with water since the days of Sir Francis Drake, to whom the town owes its greatest boon. Coming back we passed "Uncle John," the clerk, and stopped to talk to him. "Sir James—'deed, and he was a loss! 'twas a sad day for Sheepstor when he died."

"Did the parish like him?"

"Ay, there was not a soul in it who did not. Nobody could be his enemy, he was so filial" (feeling), "so gentle, and so kind."

"Remember him!" broke in a woman standing by—"ay, 'twill be long before his memory dies out here."

"I don't know," resumed the old clerk, "as us could do anything more for him, 'cept it be to put an iron rail round the tomb, and then, you know, some flowers could be planted round. There's that window—dear! how the soldiers admired it, and the officers too! Poor gentleman, he had a deal of trouble, and it shortened his days, there could be no doubt of that. 'Twas a wonderful work he had done out in foreign parts, I've heard say; and 'twas but a wild place here for such a gentleman to come and spend his days."

In the evening old Andrews, farmer, keeper, and head of the church choir, came in for a talk about the Raja:—

Kind and gentle he was to everybody. He himself had been laid up for some weeks, and Sir James sent him a dinner every day. "He did not forget it—not once." He (Andrews) became his keeper very soon after he bought Burrator. He used to go out shooting at first, but latterly was too feeble. He was not always well served, for he was too kind and easy, and folks took advantage of it.

October 9th.—With Mrs. Daykin to Jackman's farm. Found Mrs. Jackman in, and there was no doubt as to what she thought of Sir James

Brooke. "He was a gude mon, and no mistake!" She showed us a toy watch he had given her boy when at school. "I wouldn't let my son take it away with him when he went abroad; and there" (pointing to the fireplace) "it will hang as long as I live."

There was another farm that we were to have visited, but time did not allow; nor did it signify, for the village had but one voice.

The window alluded to was put up in the church by subscription as a memorial to the Raja, through the exertions of Mr. Daykin. The subject is "The Exaltation of Joseph in Egypt."

During the autumn manœuvres on Dartmoor the church had been filled to overflowing by soldiers, and the Raja's grave visited by thousands.

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